EMPIRE CLUB ADDRESSES

1943-44

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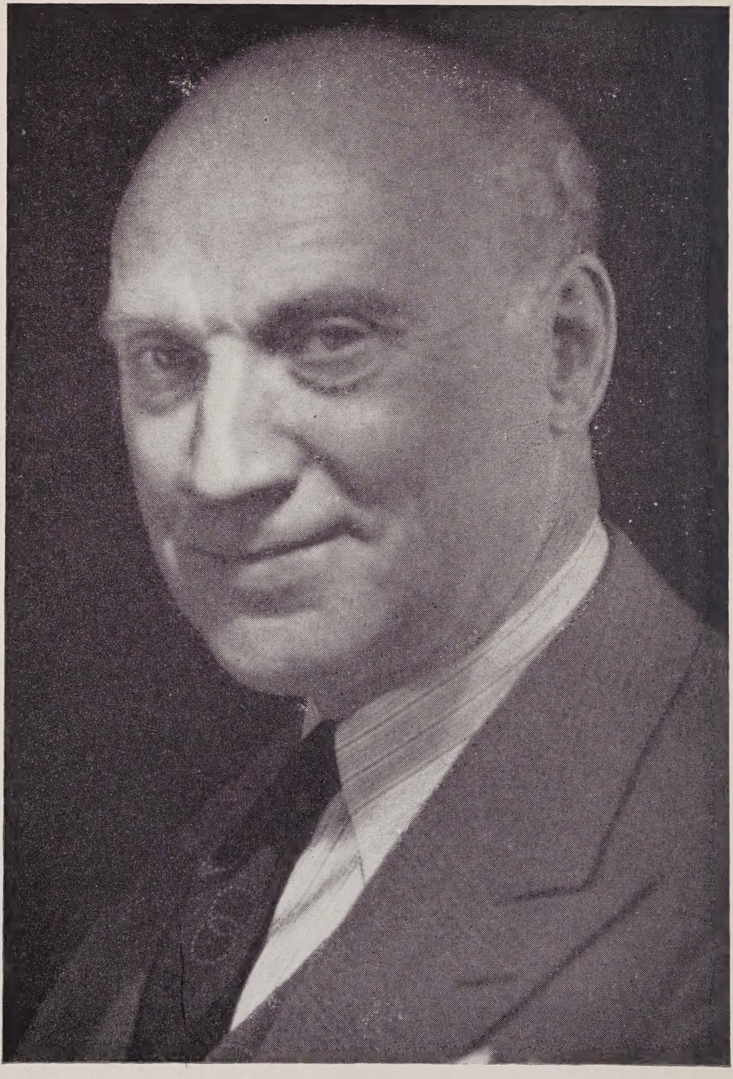
THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA



W. EASON HUMPHREYS, ESQ.
President of the Empire Club of Canada, for 1943-4.

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

ADDRESSES DELIVERED TO THE
MEMBERS DURING THE
YEAR 1943-44

Forty-first Year of Issue

GOD SAVE THE KING

T. H. BEST PRINTING CO., LTD.,
TORONTO, CANADA.

THE ROYAL EMPIRE SOCIETY

AND

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

The Royal Empire Society of London, England, and The Empire Club of Canada at Toronto were both founded for a single purpose and with a common aim:—The strengthening of the bonds of unity within the Empire. This mutual objective is prosecuted with vigorous enthusiasm by the members of these organizations on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

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THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

"THE STRENGTH AND THREAT OF JAPAN"

AN ADDRESS BY

RALPH W. CARNEY,
of Wichita, Kansas, U.S.A.

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eason Humphreys.

Thursday, May 13, 1944

MR. HUMPHREYS: If asked how he would like to be introduced, I feel sure that Mr. Carney would suggest "Simply say I am a business man."

Our guest, Mr. Ralph W. Carney, is Vice-President of The Coleman Lamp and Stove Company of Wichita, Kansas, and as he and his chief, Mr. Coleman, put it, they have lost all their customers but one—a very big company known as "War Effort Unlimited."

For some time past Mr. Carney has given all the time he can spare as well as his outstanding talent as a public speaker to his fellow countrymen and others in the interests of "Unity of purpose and unity of action for the quick and complete defeat of the Axis powers."

Mr. Carney has much to say to us and I promised not to encroach upon his time. I shall say no more except this—in your name we welcome our guest and neighbour who will now address us on "The Strength and Threat of Japan to Canada and the Empire." Mr. Carney.

MR. CARNEY: Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen of the Empire Club and guests, and People of Canada:

I am honored by your invitation to meet with you today and I have a great sense of responsibility for the value of the time of this grand audience and of those who may be listening at their radios.

While I am strange to you, both in name and person, I do not feel a stranger. You Canadians, and We Americans, are so much alike in our background, the origin of our blood, in our thinking, and in our hopes that when an American comes to Canada, it is just like first cousins visiting with each other.

Because of the pressure of radio time limitation, it is necessary that I speak rapidly in order to say even a portion of what is on my mind and in my heart and I ask, therefore, that you tune your minds and your ears to my speed of speech, and please do not think that because I talk rapidly that what I say has not been carefully considered.

It would be presumptuous, if not impertinent, if I were to come here and comment upon your prosecution of this war, or offer any advice whatsoever. I can only give you an opinion and make suitable confession of our own mistakes in America so that you may profit—not by our success—but by our failures.

My authority is a simple one. I do not carry the glamour of a Hollywood reputation, nor the glitter of a uniform. I'm a plain American business man with an unusual opportunity for observation. I have only one authority and that is a travelling experience equalled by *no* man in America and approached by only *one* woman!

I travel 150,000 miles a year, every year! That is six times around the world—pretty largely within the confines of the United States—some of it in your own beautiful country—some in Mexico, the West Indies and South America—most of it at home. In these constant travels I am in daily contact with seat companions on trains and planes, in Pullman car washrooms—porters, taxi drivers, bell-hops, hotel clerks, endless committees of trade associations of every type and kind of business under the sun—war workers in plants in large groups, smaller training classes and individually at the machines. And so, I have a most interesting opportunity to sort of lay my ear on the breast of my own country and hear its heart beat and judge faintly, too, the pulse of your own nation.

Therefore, I am just an instrument—a voice—a reflector of what I see and hear.

I come to you today, and with considerable pride, from the World of Industry—Manufacturing Industry and what might be called, "Big Business". I fully appreciate that the shallow thinkers and the envious, out of their own sense of failure and frustration, very nearly succeeded in making those two words—"Big Business"—seem like an odious and a shameful thing, forgetting that Industry became big in both of our countries because it deserved to be; because it served our people well, brought them undreamed of comforts and the standard of living of which we have all been so proud.

Every time I go into a war plant today and see the enormous transformation that has taken place, and I know something of the sacrifices in markets, in advertising values, in the memory of the Public, and the quite some considerable and frequent dollar losses on war contracts, I think of those who have attempted to destroy Industry, simply because it had become big, forgetting that only because it was big did we have better and better automobiles, and electric refrigerators, and radios, and heating equipment and not at higher and higher, because they were better, but at lower and lower prices! That's the entire history of all industry—a constantly *improved product,* at a constantly *reduced price.*

Oh, I wish these politicians who have shown so little consideration for the little business man, and who have attempted to rip big industry apart, would just humbly and thankfully follow the example that business has already set for *them* and give us better and better government, at lower and lower cost! Wouldn't that be something! And now, only the bigness of industry saves us from slavery!

I am proud of the part that Industry has played in offering the facilities of their plants and machines, their processes, and their experience to their Government, in most cases, without thought of profits as a governing consideration, and with many losses already experienced.

If any scoffer disbelieves that, let me remind him that with the income tax laws of today, the businessman is just a "middle man" for money. He takes it in but he doesn't keep it. He is like the bus driver, the street-car conductor. He receives the nickels when the passengers pay their fare but when he gets to the "car barn" he turns the nickels to the Government Treasury.

No aviator that brings down an enemy plane and no troop of soldiers with honored and tattered and shot-torn colors has a right to a greater pride than these factories who, in less time than anyone could have believed, and in far less time than Germany guessed, have given us mass production of fighting planes and bombers and guns and ships and tanks and ammunition. It was Hitler's and Hirohito's one great miscalculation. *They did not think it could be done!*

The next time anybody, within my hearing, ever again impugns the overall honesty, fairness, unselfishness and true willingness to sacrifice of the Canadian and the American business man—and part of my purpose in travelling over our two countries is to put a ram-rod up the backs of business men who have been entirely too meak in speaking up for themselves—the next time anyone throws mud at business, I'm just going to ask him, very sharply, who it was we turned to in our hour of danger and distress. Was it to the crack-pots, the dreamers, the social planners, the something-for-nothing boys, or, was it to Canadian and American factories, built and managed under our system of private enterprise?

In this room here today, close by my side, sits one of my colleagues who knew the Germans and the Japs better than most of us because he travelled those countries for years. He was trying to convince me long before the war opened and I would not believe. He was one of these "business men" whom some labor leaders have come to regard as fair game for any kind of an unfair assault and some of our politicians had regarded as a poor, dumb, patient cow, fit only to give down his daily bucket of tax milk. He was not a paid government employee nor a member of our Intelligence Staff, but he knew, more than most, of the evil that was rising against us.

When the crisis came, this man did not say to the Canadian Government, "You cannot have our plant—our skill, and the labor of our people—unless you guarantee us premium profits—time and a half profits—double time profits." This man, who represents Industry, asked for nothing but the privilege of offering the complete facilities of his factory to Canada and to England, on September 27 of 1938—one full year before the outbreak of war in Europe—and that factory began the making of war goods at a time when our politicians were misleading us with appeasement and Mr. Chamberlain, following the Munich conference was stepping out of a plane to announce, "It is Peace in our time"—Which was the better prophet?—This offer was not only concurred in but enthusiastically supported by his Parent Company.

If the example of my friend, with whom I am so proud to associate, had been followed by everyone, we might not even be in the war today. Certainly, we would have been better prepared and thousands of lives of our finest boys would have been saved.

This war, therefore, is real enough to Industry—to business of all classes—to the little man who has already gone out of business—to those who are going to go out of business—to those who are going to lose money by staying in business in order to maintain their organization, and to those who make money on operation but pay it back to the government in taxes.

This war still is not real to many millions of Americans and it may be even so to some thousands of Canadians.

Oh, sure, we see the headlines in the papers and I remember being in Canada when you were being led to think that you were winning in Europe and our people get excited when we knock a few Jap planes out of the sky or sink a ship.

This war isn't real to the point of being a bitter, personal war. Our cities haven't yet been bombed. Our countrysides have not been laid waste. We haven't yet dragged the bodies of Canadian and American women and babies out of the debris of destroyed buildings! We haven't yet sustained any of the agony of war—not unless you have already suffered the loss of a son.

Another reason I know that the war isn't real to millions of my own people, at least, is that as long as this little word "get" remains the great American word—as long as Government owned and other plants operating on a cost plus basis fail to provide proper planning; as long as management in such plants fails to impress upon and convince its employees that every dollar of cost is justified—farm organizations, through pressure of political blocs, try to get the highest possible price for farm products—prices come *first,* their country *second,* to their political leaders—as long as labour unions are trying to get the highest possible dollar volume of wage rates, ceaseless and unending demands for increased political power—the union *first,* their country *second,* and so clearly *proven* in endless strikes where the country suffers that one union may gain a victory over another; as long as politicians are thinking in terms of *getting* elected and selfish capitalists, in terms of getting richer—how can a war be real to people who think of it in terms of what they get out of it!

But I'll tell you where this war is real!

Five minutes ago—*just five minutes*—in the Solomon Islands—in North Africa or over Europe—there was a Canadian boy alive, and full of life—and yet, Mothers of Canada—so young that he had hardly yet tasted any of the joys of living—just 19, 20, or 21.

He's there where he is with no choice in the matter. When he volunteered he didn't bargain or when he got his call to join up, he didn't say, "Now, wait just a minute, Mr. Prime Minister—wait just a minute! What kind of a deal are you going to make me? Several of the boys here, and I, have gotten together and we want to bargain with you. How much are you going to pay me? How many hours am I going to be on duty? How much extra are you going to pay me for every hour over eight? I'm not going to fight on Saturdays nor report for duty on Sundays! What about my social gains—my rights—my privileges? What about my standard of living that *must not* be reduced in *any* way!"

He's there, thousands of miles from his mother, wife, or sweetheart, and the play of children—his education interrupted—his job and lifework impeded—in filthy jungles and fox-holes—and for how much? In Canada just $1.30 a day, most of them.

He doesn't say, "I will not give my service unless I get all of the things I demand!" He just *gives* his service! That's all!

And because he is only a boy, every day he's thinking about home. He's thinking of that thrill-packed moment when he'll get off the train and say ,"Hello Dad!", and kiss his mother, and draw his wife or his sweetheart to him, and go home, arm in arm, for a big home cooked dinner where they can be proud of him and a little excited, and at last hear of his experiences.

Every day and every night he's thinking about home and what he's going *to do,* too, when he gets there.

That was five minutes ago—when I first started talking about him—and now, already—right now—HE'S DEAD! *Right now, he is!* Torn from life in any of the countless ways a man can die in war.

If you could be there where he is—not here in perfect comfort or sitting before your radios—*be there*—where he is—and with your own eyes, see that one boy die, and witness his agony before death releases him from it, and then be in the home of his parents a few weeks later when they get the news from the War Department—see the happiness of another Canadian home forever collapse and hear the sobs of another broken-hearted Gold Star Mother—by the Eternal God! You'd know where war was real! And for nothing he got out of it—nothing that he asked for, either!

We have developed some rather superficial ideas of patriotism the past few years. It isn't enough to stand up when they play, "God Save the King," nor applaud the flag in a news reel! It isn't nearly enough!

We must accept the fact that Patriotism now means pain, and sacrifice—and that's a word I am afraid we do not yet know the meaning of—most of us at least. Patriotism means bloodshed, and heartache, and we must dismiss from our minds any thought of what me might hope to *get* and think only in terms of what we can *give* and *do,* to the very full limit of our doing. We must not confuse inconvenience with sacrifice!

We made another fundamental mistake at the beginning of this war—we thought it would be like the last one. Well, it isn't! It isn't anything at all like the last one!

This is a war of an indulgent, luxury-loving, appeasement-minded America and the British Empire, against a lean, hard, fit, well-trained and—never doubt it—still powerful Germany, overlord and master of all Europe, and with the slave labor of all of Europe's millions making weapons for its Master and as far as the over-all military situation is concerned, as the map behind me so clearly indicates—a completely victorious Japan, conqueror of an empire potentially stronger than Russia, or Germany, or the British Empire, or the United States.

We are facing, too, not only in Europe, but even more so in the Pacific, an entirely new kind of an enemy—witness the murder of those American flyers—prisoners of war, daring and honorable ones—an enemy with new and horrible ideas, bestial, pagan, soul-destroying—an enemy newly equipped with a 20 years carefully concealed preparation upon the part of Japan—preparation for which *my* country furnished the scrap iron!

And for what I say to you in the next few minutes, do not think I am a pessimist. It is not that we shall not win some day. It is a matter of time and cost that I consider with you now.

I am just a realist. So are the leaders of our countries. Mr. Roosevelt said the other day:

> "This is not the time for exultation. There is no time now for anything but working and fighting."

Your own matchless Churchill, upon the landing in Africa warned:

> "This is not the end. It is not even the beginning of the end. It is perhaps the end of the beginning."

Following the Casablanca Conference, Mr. Churchill again admonished:

> "I know of nothing that has happened yet which justifies the hope that war will not be long and that bitter and bloody years do not lie ahead."

For those of you who may be indulging in wishful thinking, examine this war map with me. It so clearly demonstrates the task on which we have hardly yet begun.

Every Rising Sun flag—and there are 60 of them on this map—identifies a known, strongly fortified naval and air base, island and mainland—strteching in an enormous archipelago—a vast, new and enveloping empire—5,000 miles long, 2,500 miles wide, for those who think of Japan as two or three little Islands!

In this area, lies about one-fourth of all of the wealth of the world and a great percentage of its total manpower. A large percentage of the native populations of Malaya and Burma have already proven themselves pro-Japanese. We have thought of Java as a cup of coffee. I wonder how many know that on that island there are 43,000,000 people, mostly natives. A great proportion of that male population can easily become part of Japanese military manpower.

If there is any one thing this war has proven, it is that any ship afloat is at the mercy of land based bombers. Study this map and the distances and you will understand why Japan started a war she *did not think she could lose*. There isn't a single spot where United Nations task forces can proceed beyond Guadalcanal and not be within range of the Japanese land based bombers.

When the Japs sank your Prince of Wales and Repulse, they then felt sure that no hostile force could ever successfully run the gauntlet so clearly shown on this map.

How excited we, in America, became over Guadalcanal and the sinking of a few Jap ships. I have asked many an American audience to face the facts with me. We landed on Guadalcanal over nine months ago. In that length of time, (for those of you who think in terms of a short war) and at a cost of 38% of our Pacific Fleet today at the bottom of the ocean—32 American war ships sunk and how many lives, I do not know, we have that one little fly-speck—that tiny island 60 x 90 miles and *one* airport!

Here, a short distance away, is the great base of Truk at which General MacArthur warns us, the Japanese have gathered 250,000 tons of shipping. Amboina is the former great Dutch naval base.

Nine months, it took for Guadalcanal—General MacArthur and his brave Australians, seven months, to gain a couple of "yards through the line" at the tip end of New Guinea.

At this rate, how long, Oh Lord, how long, will it take to drive them out! And not until every Rising Sun flag shall be replaced with the Star of the United Nations, shall this task be finished.

And in this area, there is a second enemy almost as deadly to white men as the Japanese themselves, and that is malaria, and other tropical diseases that, at one time or another, placed flat on their backs, one-half of the total occupying force at Guadalcanal.

To those of you who dismiss this strength and strategic power—these unsinkable aircraft carriers—this accumulation of men, and plane, and ammunition, and food, and native populations, and say, "Oh well, we're not going to do it that way! We're going to attack Japan direct from China!"

Well, that's fine! Take a look at this map and tell me *how* we're going to get into China, completely surrounded as it is, mainland, coast points, Indo-China, Siam, and Burma—and open only on the Russian side.

I have freely admitted our weaknesses and it now must be confessed that General Wavell's second campaign in Burma is a failure and a defeat and we are no closer to driving the Japanese out than we were a year ago and the Japanese are infinitely stronger.

Japan can place 11,000,000 soldiers in the field—as great an army as America can raise and equip. That is because there is no percentage of the Japanese male population engaged in supporting any form of personal comfort. They are in the Army and everyone at home is supporting the Army by every hour of their labor, and the sacrifice of everything but the barest sustenance.

Let me say to you, that with Rommel driven out of Africa, Italy over-run and Germany out of the war altogether, we may find that 90,000,000 Japs, plus native populations, fighting in their own front yard, fanatics—all to gain and nothing to lose—soldiers who can live on a bowl of rice a day and who have already shown that they must be *killed* to be defeated—can be very hard to lick unless 12,000,000 Canadians and 130,000,000 Americans take them more seriously and fight this war harder and with a more bitter intensity than we have up to now.

Eight months ago, we were experiencing this same wave of optimism that is now deceiving our people. I want you to see what can happen when we quit fighting, before the enemy has stopped.

We were so optimistic then and from all over the United States, eight months ago, there came the murmur and prediction of a short war.

There'd be a Second Front in 1942! We were well into 1943 and there is, yet, no true Second Front because you know very well our people and Mr. Stalin interpreted a Seocnd Front in terms of a landing on the Continent of Europe. They neglected, too, to say how we would land and equip an army on the Continent of Europe, before our weapons were yet forged and our soldiers trained, particularly in view of the fact that Germany, with all of her advance preparation, had only been able to get Rudolph Hess into England!

The outcome of Coral Sea and Midway had removed the threat to Alaska, and Hawaii, and the Pacific Coast. Sure, the Japs had landed in the Aleutians but we'd knock them out when the fog lifted and anyway, Doolittle had bombed Tokyo!

Oh, how excited we got over light, left jabs that have done no more than bring a little blood and bruise the nose of a powerful enemy that has plunged ahead just the same, to achieve every single objective, in less time and at a price *less* than he was willing to pay. We made the fatal mistake of confusing *blows* struck, for victories.

The Russians were holding and counter-attacking. The British had superiority in men and equipment at the rate of 8 to 5 in Libya but even Mr. Churchill, with his profound common sense, was led astray because he announced to the world while he was in Washington then that, "There is no doubt but what General Rommel's plans had gone completely awry." Remember?

And somehow, in that rosy glow and while our faces were turned toward Europe, a greater enemy was growing stronger at our backs—the stings and the aches, and the shame of—count them with me—because it is the unfinished job regardless of what happens to Hitler—Hong Kong, Indo-China, Siam, Malaya, Singapore, Manila, Bataan, Sumatra, Java, New Guinea, Wake Island, Pearl Harbor, Dutch Harbor—well, it didn't seem quite so painful. By refusing to *look,* we pretended that those defeats *were not there.*

We scrambled among ourselves to get aboard War's "gravy train." Strikes loomed up. And in spite of the solemn promise of the leaders of both unions in my country, that there would be no more strikes—well, what is the record?

In May and June of last year there were 340 strikes in war plants alone—700 strikes of all kinds in the State of Michigan alone.

Some of these strikes can be attributed to management—some to labor—most of them were the result of differences of opinion which could have been and should have been settled by agreement in this national emergency. Between May and December last year, there were lost in America 6,600,000 man days of labor—priceless time that can never be regained—for which our sons' lives will pay the penalty.

I could give you the record of strikes over jurisdictional disputes where there were no wage disagreements but just a quarrel between unions and where each union made its own interests paramount to the safety of their country.

I do not know what you think about it up here and you're beginning to have your own troubles, but I want to tell you what *fathers and mothers are saying in United States,* "Any time any man leaves work in a war plant today, for any reason whatsoever except serious illness, he ought to be in the Army tomorrow, at Army pay and incurring a soldier's risks."

Suppose an entire division of soldiers in an important sector, with the lives of our countries at stake, should all at once, throw down its arms and refuse to fight. How quickly those self-same strikers would use the words, "Coward" and "Quitter" and "Traitor."

Well, what's the difference? You tell me! What's the difference between a man who throws down a gun and the man who throws down the tools with which that gun and its ammunition is made!

Well, because of all of this—our fighting a part-time war in our thinking—this mistaking blows for victories, forgetting that there is no victory until we have re-occupied every one of those territories marked with the flag of Japan—because selfish business men were thinking of profits, and politicians of elections, and laborers of wages, and farmers of prices—what was the hang-over of the morning after Mr. Churchill's sincere but mistaken prophecy?

Well, Tobruk was taken and the British were driven from Libya. Rommel's forces came within 90 miles of

Alexandria and the capture of Alexandria might have meant the end of the war.

China's back to the wall with the Burma Road closed and most of her airfields in the hands of the Japanese.

Japan's strengthening of her outposts toward Australia as Generals MacArthur and Blamey have warned us, and capitalizing upon all of her enormous material conquests in the South Pacific and the Dutch East Indies.

The Japanese still encamped in the Aleutians and growing stronger.

India seething with unrest.

Japan growing stronger as Germany grows weaker and not enough Allied ships, or planes, in the Pacific to uphold General MacArthur's hands and adequately defend Australia.

It's time we faced facts as they are! This isn't a war to be fought only by armies and navies and air fleets—that this war attacks and, as they have found out in England, must therefore be fought by civilians as well—farmers who grow food without regard to the price—just grow food to feed our peoples and our armies—workers who forge weapons without regard to pay and premium pay for every extra effort—making weapons to defend the lands we love—business men who give of their substance to the Red Cross—who buy more bonds than they think they can possibly afford instead of buying as few as they can get by with and escape censure—and the whole great Public of our countries who can well afford to do without now and buy bonds until there is nothing left of their income but a bare living and fight, as the Russians fight, and meet the Japanese on their own terms.

Every Canadian is a soldier in this fight—some in uniform, suffering and dying; and all of the rest of us with the easy end of it, supplying the food and the weapons, and the dollars, and no man, woman or child can escape his share.

There is no referee to judge this fight—no draw decision. Take a look at that map again and contemplate the power, the persistence, the fanaticism of a country who does nothing but fight while we still try to live comfortable lives—and realize that *this* is for "keeps"!

It is just win—or—lose! And the sobering thought is, that Japan did not start nor Germany or Italy support a war *they did not think they could win.* And they knew more about our resources than we knew about theirs.

They only miscalculated on one point and it will be their undoing. They failed to judge correctly, the unconquerable spirit of an inspired, United Nations—of a people that think in terms of giving and not in terms of getting, and what a free people can do when they once know what they must do.

And this, then, is the crux of the matter. Leave not the fighting to our soldiers and sailors and flyers, but let us, each one of us, MAKE WAR! MAKE WAR! Fight War, in our thinking! Make War with our hands and labor! Make War with our prayers! Make War in the enduring of discomforts! Make War with our dollars and make war with a bitter, relentless fighting spirit that stops for no cheering until the enemy is dead!

I want to read you a despatch and then I'll be through, because this the kind of a boy that I have in mind when I pleaded for no cessation of labor, for the opening of your hearts and your pocket-books, in furnishing the dollars needed for equipment and supplies:

There were two letters in the bulky envelope marked "Passed by Naval Censor" which Mr. and Mrs. Henry A. Glorch of Chicago opened with trembling fingers. The first was in the familiar handwriting of their son Henry, Machinist Mate, First Class, Class, aboard the U.S.S. *George F. Elliott.* The second was in an unfamiliar script. Naturally, they first read the letter from their son:

> "Dear Mother and Dad:
>
> This is one letter I hope you'll never get. Funny way to start a letter, isn't it? But it's the best I can do under the circumstances because if you do get it, that means I have been very unfortunate.

Tomorrow, I will have the great honor to participate in Uncle Sam's first move of retaliation against the Japs and, believe me, I can't wait. Boy, Oh Boy, have they got a surprise coming to them! We've been cruising around the Coral Sea for the last couple of days, just passing the time away while a few of our planes and destroyers and cruisers and stuff, were dropping cold steel messages on the Solomons to sort of soften them up a little. Boy, am I glad I'm not a Jap! Especially the way some of our Marines are acting up.

Serious, they are, and making expert and tricky preparation. Our job, of course, is to get them to the beach as fast and as many as we can. And we'll do it, too, if we have to swim ashore with the Marines on our backs, because I don't believe in history, a bunch of men have gone into any engagement as cold, as calm and as confident as this group and there will be only one answer—it will be successful.

As I write this, I want you to know, Mama, that I'm not writing because I have any premonition of anything happening to me. I'm just writing this because, in case I do get mine, you'll know I got it like a man with a clear conscience and I'm not afraid to die for my country. Believe me and please don't grieve, for this will all soon be over. I will have only one regret and that is I did not see you once more. I love my father and mother and family more than I ever told you.

I'll put this letter in my locker, and in case it happens, my buddy has instructions to mail it to you first thing. I hope he never gets the chance. I'll close this letter now and try to catch a few hours snooze before we get ready to make the Japs remember Pearl Harbor.

So, it's goodbye and good sailing and my most sincere love to all the family and my friends.

Your fond and loving son,
Henry"

The other letter is from Henry's buddy, John Demarskey, who said he was carrying out instructions in mailing the letter. "I don't know just what to write," Demarskey said to the family. "You're lost a very fine son and I've lost a very fine buddy."

Well, what price—the life of a boy like that? A boy with a mind that can write that kind of a letter—with that heart and soul and flaming courage! What price!

Did he bargain with his country for his services? Did he put it on a basis of time and a half and overtime? Did he say, "I will not fight until you give me more than I am getting or as much as someone else?" No! He said, "I can't wait!"

Let me tell you that any one in management or labor who causes men to stop work making arms to defend boys like that, sells out his country just as surely as Judas took his 30 pieces of silver. You must not let that happen in Canada!

Profit, please, from our weakness and timidity in the United States.

And what is all of this for: My appeal to you today—the deeper sacrifices that you are called upon to make and the loss of the lives of boys like the one whose letter I have just read?

It is for this thing that perhaps some of you have come to take for granted—from which many have taken much and given back so little—it is for this thing you call, "THE BRITISH EMPIRE."

Have you ever thought of what it really is—this British Empire that you talk about, hear about over the radio, read about in history, and that, in personification, you ask God to save, in your famous song?

Well, let me, an American, respectfully salute you, bid you goodbye, and thank you for your attention here today, by telling you what I think it is. . . .

The British Empire is the "Sleeping, Appeasing Giant" among nations, suddenly transformed by bombs on Warsaw into a Smashing Colossus and a terrible instrument of righteous vengeance; the joyrider turned Pilot of the

R.C.A.F. and the R.A.F.; the jazz orchestra become the fife and drum corps.

It is Piccadilly Circus and The Savoy, suddenly warmed by the Spirit of Waterloo and the defeat of the Spanish Armada; it is the night club, the hunting-lodge and the country club discarding its play clothes for uniform and jumpers, and the sign of the Red Cross upon its sleeve.

It is waltz music and the rhumba, shifting to the blare of bugles; it is all the trivial ditties of Tin Pan Alley welling into "O Canada" and "God Save the King."

It is the soda clerk dying for democracy, the fat man on the golf links flinging away his clubs to become an air warden; the youth on a tennis court suddenly flashing through the air to bomb the Bismarck.

It's the cry of "Gimme, Gimme," changing to "Take all I have if you need it" and the slogans, "Every man for himself" and "What do I get out of it" becomes again, "England expects every man to do his duty."

It's the Mayfair playboy turned parachute trooper; a grimy coal-town laborer leading a suicide squadron to retake Singapore; the village ne'er-do-well on a mine sweeper in a raging sea; the top dancer stripped to the waist in a blazing gun turret; the ex-gangster finding his soul in the emulation of Air Marshals Blishop and Fleming and Edith Cavell.

It is a cocktail lounge transformed into a barracks; a youth idling on a Newfoundland beach suddenly giving his life in defense of a lonely colonial outpost; it is laughter in a western chuck-wagon, turning into a hoarse shout of "Let 'em have it" from a Churchill tank.

It's the club car fading into an armored car—the deluxe sleeper into an ammunition train and the porter into Gunga Din; the Timid Soul laying down his life for a pal.

The street corner idler winning a citation for valor; the "boy who wasn't much use" sticking to the guns of a flaming, sinking cruiser, taking one last defiant shot before a cold and pitiless ocean closes over to strangle out his life.

It is the Three-Hours-for-Lunch fellow carrying a sandwich and the labor unions keeping their promise that there shall be no more strikes.

It is Clive of India, Kitchener of Khartoum, Wellington of Waterloo; Sir Douglas Haig, Wavell and Montgomery; Lord Nelson, Henry Morgan and Admirals Jellicoe and Beatty; Gladstone, Disraeli and Edmund Burke; Henry VIII and Cromwell and William the Conqueror; the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of Windsor; William Shakespeare, Robert Burns, Charles Dickens, and Browning and Sir Walter Scott; Queen Victoria and Lady Astor; Gracie Fields and Sir Harry Lauder and Noel Coward; Robert Bruce and Sean O'Malley; De Valera and Lloyd George; the Welsh miner in the coal-blackened bowels of the earth and his thunderous chorus, the skyscraper scrub-woman and the colonel's lady.

It's Westminster Abbey, Scotland's moors and its heather—Ireland's shamrock and her songs—Limehouse, the Lions of Trafalgar Square—Big Ben and the Tower of London—Nova Scotia's fishing banks, the mines of Kimberley, Australia's sheep and her fighting heart—New Zealand's lonesome bravery—the Canadian Rockies—Lake Louise and Banff—Montreal and Quebec and Ottawa and Toronto—and the great sublime future of Canada.

It is Curtin of Australia, MacKenzie King, Anthony Eden and Winston Churchill—the King and sweet Queen Elizabeth—God truly save them—and the Unknown Soldier—the Union Jack and the Maple Leaf and the awful majesty of that deathless name—THE BRITISH EMPIRE!

What a proud people you should be! And it is every man, woman and child who buys a Victory Bond and stamp, supports the Red Cross, gives his blood for plasma, glowing in sacrifice that becomes pain as our wounded bear their pain so that, truly, "There will always be an England!"

It's self-interest becomes self-sacrifice—the spirit of indifference become the Spirit of General Montgomery—the homestead turned kirk or cathedral because of the prayers of mothers there; the dingy town become a flaming symbol because it has given birth to heroes; and the human heart and soul become torch and beacon to light the way to Liberty and Freedom for all of the oppressed peoples of the world.

That, is the BRITISH EMPIRE!

That, too, is Canada, and it is for that, that we work, and pray, and fight! And unto whom we surrender up our sons!

God Save the King and bless the British Empire—the people here assembled, and may you serve your King and Queen and Empire even better now, with your influence and your effort and your unsparing dollars!

"THE EMPIRE CARRIES ON"

AN ADDRESS BY

RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT STANSGATE, P.C., D.S.O., D.F.C.

Joint Meeting of the Empire Club of Canada and The Canadian Club of Toronto

Chairman, the President of the Canadian Club, Mr. R. G. Meech, K.C.

Monday, June 14, 1942

MR. MEECH: Gentlemen: Today the Canadian Club joins with the Empire Club in formally welcoming our guest, Viscount Stansgate on this, his second Trip to Toronto and to Canada. On his first trip in 1933, Viscount Stansgate, then known as the Right Honourable Wedgewood Benn, addressed the Empire Club on "The New British Commonwealth." He was greeted at that time by many of his former associates of the Royal Flying Corps who had served with him and those of you who are familiar with Colonel George Drew's book, *Fighting Airmen* will have read that Captain Wedgewood Benn and the late Colonel Barker, V.C., had one or two flights of extraordinary moment. They dropped spies in Austrian territory, which was a laudable manoeuvre in the war at that time and unquestionably was the forerunner of the paratrooper of today.

Our guest has had a distinguished life, both in and out of Parliament. He is a Fellow of University College, London; he is a Member of Parliament since 1908, having the ultra distinction of sitting in Parliament alongside of his father. He has served in many capacities and these include, Junior Lord of the Treasury and Secretary of State for India.

He won the D.S.O. and the D.F.C. among other honours during the last war.

Viscount Stansgate is here on the invitation of the Canadian Branch of the United Kingdom Parliamentary Association. They have come over here to examine at first hand Canada's prodigious war achievement.

Viscount Stansgate is very well known throughout the Empire and possibly he is better known for his public relations endeavours and in his later life he has spent considerable time in this connection. At the age of 63, when most other men would be seriously considering their memoirs he enlisted in the Royal Air Force as a Junior Commissioned Officer. This indeed, Gentlemen, is a supreme exhibition of the real British spirit which the invader would have been called upon to face had he attempted invasion in 1940. Viscount Stansgate: (Applause.)

RIGHT HONOURABLE VISCOUNT STANSGATE: Mr. President and Gentlemen: First of all I must thank you, Sir, for the extremely kind words—far too kind—with which you have introduced me.

Secondly, I must say that I never could come to Toronto without thinking of my old friend, Barker. I don't know how many of you knew him. I knew him very well indeed. I flew with him a good deal and if Toronto can produce a Barker, then it has a claim to fame.

On this occasion I had the honour of leading a Delegation of British Parliamentarians and perhaps you will allow me, although they haven't the pleasure of being present today, although they are lunching in an adjacent banqueting hall, perhaps you will allow me to tell you who they are and what they are here for.

My Deputy Leader is the very distinguish Conservative Member, Sir John Wardlaw-Milne. His present work has been to create in the National Expenditure Committee what I think, speaking as an old Parliamentarian, I may say is the most powerful unofficial Committee that ever existed in the House of Commons. It is doing a very difficult job, mainly, seeing there is no waste in wartime, so anyone who is interested in Lease-Lend will look upon Sir John Wardlaw-Milne as a worthwhile friend.

We have a woman with us—Mrs. Tate. Mrs. Tate already enjoyed world-wide recognition. She has come from a battle and has secured equal compensation for men and women civilian war injuries which will indeed endear her to the hundreds of thousands of Canadian women who are engaged in the war effort.

And we come to Lord Marchwood. He is the Treasurer of the Conservative Party. That is a serious responsibility. He has been head of the Worshipful Company of Master Mariners, a company which the King founded and of which he is the second Master, and more than that, he is a practical man, too, and he will be particularly interested in the great naval effort Canada is making.

In addition, we have Sir Percy Harris, who is the Deputy Leader of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons, and who was the originator of the idea of the Home Guard.

We have Mr. Neil Maclean, who saw in the Anglo-Russian Treaty the fruit of twenty years of effort to improve relations between ourselves and the Soviet Union.

We have Mr. Morrison who represents the great Co-operative Movement and who spent three and a half years as a Tommy in the last war in the trenches, and myself.

And so you can well understand that it is a serious responsibility that I carry, and that I am very proud that it has been laid on my shoulders.

I have mentioned politics, but I tell you I am an Opposition man. I have spent the greater part of my time in Opposition, but I tell you today in Great Britain, as far as Hitler is concerned, there is no politics, there is only one party, and I have never seen such a high degree of unity as exists in British opinion today.

Now, the Delegation has come to Canada primarily to engage in informal discussion with representatives from New Zealand, Bermuda, Australia, and other parts of the Empire, to engage in informal discussions on the war. That is the democratic way of waging war. We believe discussions are stronger in the long run, with a sinewy strength far more formidable than the brittle structure of dictatorship, and that it is to find out, I believe, before long, when they receive further blows from our armed forces. In addition, we have come to see something of your war effort. They know something of it in our small island. I believe in one week you are now sending us as much food as you sent us ten years ago in the whole course of one year. That is only one of many phases of the Canadian effort.

We had the pleasure before we left England of being entertained by General MacNaughton, who told us something of what the Army is doing. We remember the gallant conduct of the Canadians at Dieppe, but what we remember most in England is this. In 1940 we had a very rough time. We had our men on the Continent and we got them out, but we didn't get their equipment out. The miracle of Dunkirk saved the men but not the material, and it was the Canadian Army, equipped by you, that stood to defend that foremost bastion of liberty, that defended it during those months and we have not forgotten and we are grateful to you.

Today London is fairly quiet—knocked about a bit—we didn't prevail against a few incendiary bombs from Mr. Hitler. There are no railings—all the metal is made into munitions. There is not much traffic on the streets, but we are all very happy and contented, and if the Germans see fit to send a stray bomber, if they can afford one from time to time, it is taken philosophically. As one charming woman remarked, with great insight ,"Well, you know, I don't mind a bit of bombing now and again —it takes your mind off the war."

Well, gentlemen, that was 1940. You remember that you participated in the Battle of Britain, that battle which saved the world. But if you were to ask me as an observer what was the greatest contribution that Canada has made to the war, I would say without hesitation, the Joint Air Training Plan.

You see, Goering's plan was quite simple. He built up bombers while we were engaged in more civilized pursuits. His plan was to bomb the air fields, destroy the production, destroy the training, advance again and crush England as they had crushed Poland, as they had crushed Holland, as they had crushed Belgium and had crushed France. At one stroke the Training Plan snatched the whole of the production of air crews and, with the United States, a large part of the production of machines right out of Goering's grasp and moved it far beyond his reach onto these shores. The result is today your efforts, combined with your productive efforts and the productive efforts of the United States means the two things, machines and men, are growing and growing in volume, and nothing the Germans can do can meet them. I say that was an act of amazing statesmanship. You can train boys in safety.

I have two boys in the Air Force. One was trained in England. He came home on leave. I asked what the leave was about. It was the funeral of one of the boys. He wouldn't tell what it was about. They are very silent, these Air Force boys. I found out that while they were flying a machine a German plane came in and shot one down. It wasn't my boy. The second boy is going to arrive on these shores in a few weeks. I hope you will be kind to him. I am sure you will. Anyway, it means so much to a mother's and father's heart that he is going to be trained, equipped for battle, with the training field here, where there is a degree of comfort, of safety and skill never available in the old days.

Canadians, as far as I have been able to judge, have a curious desire to be in the front fighting line. They always want to be in where the hottest work is to be done. May I say this: don't ignore the battle of training. The battle of training is as much a battle as the battle of the skies. Remember, for every airman in the air there is a pyramid below of a hundred other trained men that you need to support him, his machine, his training, his supplies, his equipment, his adjustments.

What this means for the future of Canada, I won't venture to say, but you must see the strategical, the critical position you occupy in the world which will become in the near future an air-minded world. What the future of Canada is in that regard it isn't very difficult to foresee. That is for peace. We are now making war.

Now, may I speak just for a moment or two of some of the things that your boys are doing and I am speaking of the Air Force. We have got soldiers and sailors with us and they will be speaking and will tell of the others. You must forgive me if I speak of my own Service. Now, take the Coastal Command, away in the regions at Kiska, flying with the Americans in Ceylon. One of your men, Squadron Leader Birchall first spotted the Japanese fleet approaching Ceylon for attack. He was lost and we thought he had gone but we have fortunately found out that he is now a prisoner of war and has been suitably decorated by His Majesty. In the Coastal Command the Canadians have been flying from Iceland to Gibraltar continuously. They had a smack at the Scharnhorst and the Gneisenau. You remember how the Germans boasted how he had escaped from Brest. I am not a naval man—I know nothing about it—but I know he has never shown his nose in battle since.

Then again, this surprising development of the Canadian Navy, and the co-operation that exists between the Eastern Air Command of Canada and the Coastal Command. You have now succeeded in putting an air umbrella so our convoys can proceed with continuous air protection from the coast of Canada to the coast of Britain. That is no mean achievement.

Then the fighters. I think someone gave me the figure that 25 per cent of the fighter pilots were Canadian. They were at Malta. I and my colleagues went down to see something of the Canadian Fighter Wing. We saw one Wing, the Red Indian. The Red Indian is one of the newest Fighter Squadrons, equipped, believe me, with the very finest supplies that could be given them. We saw another Squadron—the Wolf. We saw the boys, talked to them, walked around, looked at their machines and got inspiration from them. The Wolf is commanded by a Toronto boy, Squadron Leader Magwood, who took over from Wing Commander Ford. Wing Commander Ford is 23 years of age. Heaven knows what he has in his book—two destroyers, any number of enemy aircraft. You talk about your Training Scheme. Ford started as an A.C.2, a second class aircraftsman. He started as an A.C.2 and he and another, to whom I shall refer in a moment, have risen to the rank of Wing Commander, and one of the finest aces you have produced.

Then bombing. We came also to see the bombers. I went myself and saw a Squadron of French-Canadian bombers, Les Allouette, under Wing Commander St. Pierre. But you have a Canadian Bomber Group under Air Marshal Edwards, and there is very little in the geography of Germany that they don't know—Emden, Dusseldorf, Lorient, Hamburg, Kiel—they know the lot.

You remember about the dams. You remember when they laid mines on the Mohne Dam and blew it up and sent the waters sweeping away into the productive capacity of the Ruhr Valley. There was no Canadian Sqaudron but there were Canadians, and out of the heavy casualties thirteen returned from the epic sortie, and for that one deed alone D.S.O.'s., D.F.C.'s, and D.F.M.'s were justly poured on those that came back.

Another thing about the bombers I wish to refer to. That is, those that go to places like Kiel, Dusseldorf or St. Nazaire routing out the U-boats in their lairs—who is going to tell me that a Canadian boy who goes to Lorient and bombs the submarine out of existence isn't in reality defending the mouth of the St. Lawrence?

This bombing is in England. We have a great figure in the Air Force, in the Bomber Command—Air Marshal Sir Arthur Harris. He has learned to apply this weapon with amazing success. See what special merits it has. First, you can choose your target. You are not stopped by front lines. If you knew the Germans were short of transport, you bomb their shipping yards or railway shops. If you think they are short of guns you can bomb Essen. If you think the U-boats are getting too strong you make a long journey to bomb the deisel works.

You can very your methods. You can take the night bomber with its heavy load with a technique developed in an amazing way, or take the Mosquito, a little wooden machine that is now coming into production in Canada, which can go and sting and escape and that rely, not on armament but on speed for success. Or you can take the fortresses which go out looking for trouble and they are very dangerous even for fighters to reach. All these things can be combined and are being combined into what we call a round-of-the clock bombing of Germany. There is one thing a bomber can do that nothing else can do. Other people can invade Italy or Holland or France or somewhere else, but the bomber can hit Germany. People say that bombing cannot win the war, but the answer given by the Prime Minister and Sir Arthur Harris is, "It has never been tried", but when we read of the fall of Pantalleria, we have some new evidence at least that is historic.

Now, Mr. President, we can't claim to be the originators of bombing. It wasn't our idea. It was Goering's idea—when he thought he was on top, he applied it remorselessly—Warsaw, Rotterdam, Belgrade, London, Coventry, Canterbury. Now, the tables are turned and all sorts of people are discovering that you mustn't bomb. I think they might have thought of that some time since. Goering boasted that the British Air Force would never be able to drop a bomb on the Ruhr. Today, wave upon wave, day after day—Sir Arthur Harris is producing a tidal wave of rubble in the centre of German production.

The Germans used to say, "We were never beaten in

1918. Our armies were never defeated. It was the home front that crumbled." You have heard that dozens of times from Germans. Very well then, in this war the home front is crumbling.

Let me say just this one thing. We are in good spirits. We are all in good spirits. But it would be a very great mistake for anyone to imagine that the war is won. When Hitler speaks of "the fortress of Europe" he is talking sense. He has got his armies in the east, his armies in the west. He, himself, is unassailed by land forces and it will be a big job before he is disposed of. Everybody should ask himself or herself, every day: "What am I doing today to beat Hitler?" Those who take no part in the war will have no place in the peace.

I spoke, Mr. President, about the fighting men. It is an inspiration to me. Those boys—they are only boys—put life in perspective. Anything that is mean, or self-seeking or dirty can't exist in the atmosphere of sacrifice that is represented by those young men. Yet they don't talk. They are the most silent creatures on their own affairs I have ever known. You can't get anything out of them. I talk to my boy. "Well, I shot down two" I thought to myself, "Poor devils." "It's my job," and "my job" is about as far as I get.

When coming here I was talking to a young Canadian lad who had done about two years on bombing operations. I said, "Look here, tell me (I was thinking of this speech—it has been a great anxiety in my mind for many weeks), tell me, why did you volunteer for air crew? Mark you, there isn't a man in the Air Force, in the air crew, who is not a volunteer. Nobody is ever put in the air against his will, not one. All the boy could say, as he looked at me, "Well, there we were at home. There was Dad, there was Mom, and there was me," and he looked at me in a helpless way and said, "After all, it's only right, isn't it? It's only right, isn't it?"

I thought to myself, that is pretty deep. It is only right. It is because it is only right that peoples of all lands are rallying to the cause of the United Nations.

It is because it is only right that the Norwegians are coming in open boats, hundreds of miles across the sea to escape. The Dutchmen, the Belgians, facing firing squads, the Syrians fighting in the mountains, the Greeks starving and fighting at the same time because it is only right, because deep down in human nature there is a demand to think, to write, to speak, to live, to worship in our own way.

That is what binds the free peoples together and I think we may say, as a British Empire Club, that in our way that has been the lode star of the British Commonwealth. We haven't always done very well. We have made a mess often. We have been slow, we have been stupid. But if you asked me what was the lighthouse, what was the steering star in our history, I would say it was Freedom.

A hundred and fifty years ago in the British House of Commons, Charles James Fox made a famous speech. I am in the presence of distinguished university men here. I am going to quote this from memory, so if I am wrong, I know Dr. Cody will put me right.

What Fox said and what stands for us today, was this: "So long as you have the wisdom to preserve this country as the temple of freedom—so long they will turn towards you. Tyranny is a weed that grows in every soil. Freedom they can have from none but you." (Applause.)

MR. R. G. MEECH: Gentlemen, I shall ask Mr. Humphreys, the President of The Empire Club, to express our thanks.

MR. HUMPHREYS: Mr. President and Lord Stansgate: I have been personally quite interested in your marvellous personality and I can well understand the title of your last book, *Beckoning Horizons,* and, Sir, you might be glad to know that that book, although written in 1935, and your book, written in 1919, are still being read in Canada.

It is my pleasant duty, Sir, to convert the handclapping into words. You have done honour to Canada's war effort. I think there is not a man in this room who would not like me to remind you, Sir, that this is our war, too, so we thank you very much for an inspiring address. (Applause.)

"CANADA AND THE EMPIRE OF TO-MORROW"

AN ADDRESS BY

MAJOR GLADSTONE MURRAY, M.C., D.F.C.

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eason Humphreys.

Thursday, October 14, 1943

MR. HUMPHREYS: Grace as we have just said it is collective acknowledgment of God and His goodness. Of lesser, although related importance, is collective allegiance to our flag and what it stands for.

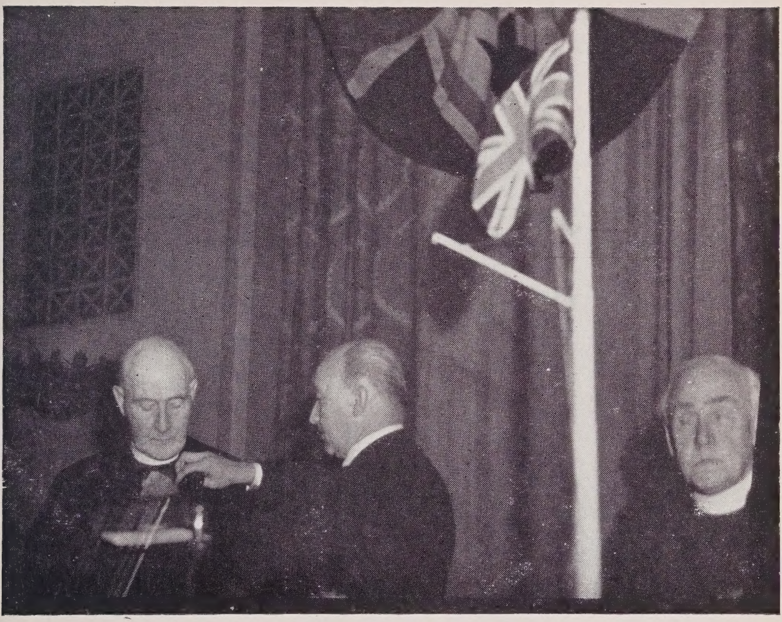
A member of the club has received permission from your Executive Committee to present the club with a miniature flagstaff on which to display the Union Jack, and, when necessary or possible, the flag of our guest, should he hail from outside the Empire. By so doing, we hope to make him feel that warmth which comes from the sight of the flag of one's own land. The miniature flagstaff also commemorates the fortieth year of The Empire Club of Canada.

Two friends of the member have made this miniature flagstaff. Mr. Ralph Giles developed the mechanical apparatus and Mr. Robert Allworth constructed the base. I will now ask Mr. Ralph Giles to switch on a motor which will cause the Union Jack to flutter in a man-made breeze.

Today The Empire Club of Canada opens a new session which terminates in April, 1944.

If members present here today will permit it, may I in their name say a word of greeting to those listening to the Club's proceedings by radio. (Applause.) Then to you, ladies and gentlemen of the radio audience, The Empire Club of Canada sends greetings.

The Empire Club has been so impressed with the



UNION JACK FLIES AT LUNCHEONS

Miniature Naval Flagstaff, with mechanism which keeps the flag flying; constructed by Messrs Ralph Giles and Robert Allworth. Presented to the Club on October 14th, 1944 by the President Mr. W. Eason Humphreys as a memorial of the fortieth anniversary of its foundation. The photo also shows the President transferring the microphone to the Archbishop of York on the occasion of his address to members in May, 1944. At right is the Anglican Archbishop of Toronto, Rt. Rev. D. T. Owen, Primate of all Canada.

extent of its listening audience that consideration was given to what one might term the club's friendly obligation to you who listen. Many who are not members of the club who live at a distance would, we find, like to know in advance something about our guest and the subject to be discussed.

And now about today's guest of The Empire Club: From a distinguished career, one accomplishment of Major Gladstone Murray is, I think, of special interest. Major Murray was the first man to successfully direct artillery fire from the air by the use of wireless. Then again, it is interesting to note, in these days of intensive combined operations, that military manuals for the British War Office on the subject of artillery and infantry co-operation with aircraft were written by our guest many years ago. He did 3,000 hours of operational flying with Royal Flying corps and was twice wounded.

With Mr. Winston Churchill, Major Murray and one other, were in charge of publicity during the general strike of 1926 in England. When there were no newspapers printed, Radio was virtually the only means of communication between government and public. It was in no small measure due to Major Murray's work that a basis for settlement was reached.

Among many other attainments of our guest, I am sure you already know of his distinguished service with the British Broadcasting Corporation and with our own Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

I have learned something about our guest which seems to me a fitting conclusion to this short introduction. His first feeling of inspiration about the Empire was stirred by hearing his mother read Queen Victoria's message to her people at the time of the Diamond Jubilee in 1897.

With that, I have pleasure in introducing Major Gladstone Murray, M.C., D.F.C., Croix de Guerre, Italian Silver Medal, who now addresses us on "Canada and the Empire of Tomorrow".

MR. GLADSTONE MURRAY: The stage of the war has been reached when we must consider the future. True, the struggle continues, and has yet to reach its ultimate phase of destruction; but a spectator from Mars, detached in sentiment and interest, would be justified now in certain conclusions. The overwhelming victory of the United Nations is assured; the collapse of Germany will happen suddenly and from within; the reduction of Japan will be a longer ordeal but hardly as long as the experts now prophesy; when Germany collapses there will be a universal sense of relief but no clear-cut and generally acceptable plan for dealing with the countries prostrated by war. Afterwards there will be a period of uncertainty. Such would be the probable reflections of a discerning resident of Mars.

THE GERMAN PROBLEM

The first thing important to remember is that complete victory in the war, accompanied by the unconditional surrender of the enemy, will not in itself solve the chief problem of the century. To understand the reason for this it is necessary to understand the German problem. The greatest conspiracy for world domination was conceived in the early years of this century by the German General Staff, which has consisted, and continues to consist, not of swaggering comic-opera Prussian officers, but the elite of German intelligence, knowledge, and fanaticism. The "Master-Plan" certainly had taken shape by 1910, since when it has been applied with clock-work precision. There have been setbacks, serious ones, but these were allowed for in the beginning. The First Episode of the Master-Plan was World War I. Well, that didn't come off; but there was provision for this eventuality. Also there was recognition of why it didn't come off. In the German General Staff analysis of World War I, prepared in 1920, it was set out clearly that the chief reason for the set back was the unexpected unity and military might of the British Empire. Following their Plan, the German General Staff stage-managed the suspension of hostilities with skill. They signed the Treaty of Versailles or rather gave instructions for it to be signed by their "stooges"; they would have done the same with any other peace terms. They then permitted the setting up of a tame republic, carefully controlled. Simultaneously they staged an enquiry into the reasons for the loss of the war, and the published propaganda verdict put the blame on the home front, the communists, and the blockade. They succeeded in convincing the German people, and many people outside, that the German army was not defeated; that it was tricked and let down. Fortunately our intelligence service has had access to the real views of the German General Staff; what thwarted their first attempt was the unity and military power of the British Empire. Of course there were other important factors but this was the decisive one, as selected by the German brain-trust itself. We could not expect the Germans to use quite the enthusiasm of Mr. Lloyd George when he put it this way in 1918:

> "This war has taught us many lessons, but no lesson more striking than the lesson of the reality of the power of the British Empire. What would have happened to the world had the might of the British Empire not been maintained and had it not been thrown into the conflict? Military despotism would have triumphed throughout the world."

Having fooled the German public, the General Staff proceeded to fool the Allies by sabotaging the Peace Treaties and encouraging disunity among their enemies. The Grand Alliance of victory fell to pieces. The United States withdrew from responsibility for keeping the peace in Europe. With the United States out, Britain felt unable to go the full distance in co-operation with France. The League of Nations made a gallant effort but it was sabotaged. In the general welter of divided counsels and disillusionment, the German General Staff alone moved steadily and consistantly towards their goal. It is noteworthy that in the documents of the General

Staff the years after 1918 are defined as the "period of suspended hostilities."

HITLER

A popular fallacy is to assume that Hitler represents an isolated phenomenon superimposed on Germany. He is nothing of the kind; he is part of the Master Plan. Hitler is the convenient "stooge" of the time, as The Kaiser, Ludendorf and Hindenberg were before him. Blindly obedient devotion, insatiably bitter hatred had to be incubated. The whole youth of the nation was taken in hand and saturated with perverted patriotism. In this mass nourishment of hatred the Jews were the most convenient victims. The General Staff rightly calculated that they could do anything they liked to the Jews without risking the premature armed intervention of the powers. In that kindergarten of hell's kitchen it was easy to lift the sights to the democratic world. So there grew up a whole generation of Germans fashioned in the deadly fanatic mould designed by the General Staff.

EPISODE TWO

In due course, episode two was launched. We are now in the midst of it. It has come nearer to success than episode one; and what was the chief reason it failed? Anyone aware of the facts realizes that with the fall of France, the Dunkirk evacuation, and "the stab in the back" by Italy, the cause of civilization was in graver jeopardy than at any time since the collapse of the Roman Empire. It is known that the German General Staff suffered from over-confidence. They thought that Britain would yield to powerful air assault. This mistake cost them the first chance of victory in episode two of their Master-Plan. What was it that foiled their attempt? As in episode one, it was the British Empire,—this time by its unity and steadfastness, I do not say its actual armed strength because that was not a determining factor then. The endurance and capacity of resistance of the people of the United Kingdom in 1940 and 1941 marked a turning point in history. And when the record of these tremendous times comes to be written in an atmosphere of detachment, Canada's part in saving the embattled citadel of civilization will be fully acknowledged. If *we* do not rate our prowess in arms sufficiently high, the German General Staff make no such mistake. Their reports on the operations of 1914-1918 are full of reluctant tributes to Canadian arms. The presence of our forces in the United Kingdom is already known to have been a deterring factor to the immediate extension of land blitzkrieg operations after Dunkirk. It may be it was the determining factor.

Dodging Defeat

And now there is the Grand Alliance of freedom with its powerful armies, navies, and air fleets bearing from all points of the compass upon the Fortress Europe. Let no one imagine that the General Staff are under any illusion as to the probable outcome. They admitted frustration as early as the end of 1941. And so the present war is already being referred to as episode two in the Master-Plan; already episode three is taking shape. What is happening now is a gigantic and well-conceived delaying action, while attempts are made to divide the United Nations. Failing this division, there is the alternative hope that war weariness and internal dislocation will produce an atmosphere favorable to stalemate. Failing this again, the German General Staff will try to re-enact their famous bluff of 1918 and 1919. They will instruct their "stooges" to surrender unconditionally and to sign anything that is put in front of them. Mark you there will be the same attempt as in 1918 to get the surrender and treaty signed by people who afterwards can be disavowed by the General Staff. Similarly there will be an attempt to set up a puppet regime in Germany. These devices the United Nations no doubt will detect and foil. But whatever regime is set up, when the time is reached for a measure of self-government, great vigilance will be necessary. The General Staff, again driven underground, will pursue their dark designs.

The re-education of German youth will have to be tackled. It will take much longer to exorcise the spirit of Naziism than it did to implant it. We shall not be out of the woods for fifty years. The average German under thirty-five has become different from the average individual of the rest of mankind. Not much can be done with the perverted generation but we can halt the transmission of the virus to the next one.

The Weapon of Revolution

The architect's of the German General Staff's Master-Plan, and its custodians after this war, know full well that the purging of Naziism, the re-education of German youth, and the other measures will take time. They count on their machinations in the years after the peace to get a fresh and final grip on the means to achieve their design. Their trump card is the encouragement of dissension and revolution in the United Nations. Those who follow international affairs closely will recall that as soon as the pact between Russia and Germany was signed in August, 1939, the "party line" to all the Communist organizations affiliated to the Central Comintern was to assist the Germans in every way possible. Thus, when the war started, and right up to the time of the German attack on Russia, the Communists, their fellow travellers, and the deluded pinks hanging along, considered it their duty to sabotage our war effort. Hence the necessity of interning the Communists. Of course, when Russia was attacked, the party line changed overnight. What in 1939 and 1940 and in the first half of 1941 was just a "capitalist war for markets and grab" suddenly became a sacred crusade. The Communists and the fellow travellers became fire-eaters; indeed so much so that they agitated for a second front when it would have been a useless massacre.

The Communists

And then a few months ago, the Government of Soviet Russia dissolved the Central Comintern and disavowed any further responsibility for the subversive activities of

Communists in other countries. That was all to the good. They are wrong who say the disavowal was not genuine. Although I have no use for the Communists and their activities, I can understand the attitude of the Russians when they used the Communists. In its early stages the Russian revolution felt that it was subject to the danger of encirclement by powerful and hostile neighbours. Until its own military strength had been developed, it depended for help upon the Communists in other countries. It was a policy of prudence and "real politics". As soon as Soviet Russia had demonstrated her power, and had gained confidence in her Allies, her connection with Communists in the United Nations became an embarrassment; hence it was abandoned, and, so far as Russia is concerned, is unlikely to be resumed. But no such policy of forbearance will be observed by the German General Staff; indeed there is evidence that subversive movements in the United Nations will be used by the Germans to upset the peace and to weaken their enemies in advance of episode three of the resumed struggle for world domination.

The Empire After the War

Without the British Empire the Germans would have won the first World War; without the British Empire they would already have won the second World War. So the chief objective of the General Staff's guiding minds in the peace to come will be to concentrate on weakening and, if possible, breaking up the British Empire. We all hope profoundly that from this war there will emerge a firm policing of the world by the big three, Britain, U.S.A, and Soviet Russia. But this alliance has yet to be made; moreover its strength and duration will be governed by internal conditions and politics. On the other hand, the alliance of the British peoples is already firmly founded, it has stood repeatedly the fiery test of war, and it will remain in existence. What we do not know is whether the British Commonwealth and Empire will become still more closely knit together to the abiding advantage of world freedom.

Much depends upon Canada. The war effort has brought us forward to a place in the Empire and in the world far beyond our pre-war position, far beyond what might have been expected of our relatively small population. Have we the maturity to maintain and justify our position? Knowing, as we do, that the tactics of the enemy will be to encourage every element of internal dissension, will we have the wisdom so to conduct our affairs that these evil contrivings will be discomfited?

Take internal problems. Owing chiefly to the war, we are in arrears in their settlement. The relations between the Provinces and the Dominion, the relations between French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians, and so on. While there should be no throttling of free speech or of open discussion, is it too much to ask that our controversies should be conducted with forbearance and understanding. In striving for this alone, we shall be more than deserving our new rank in the world; we shall be thwarting evil designs from without.

Canada's Population

Take some of our problems in review. And first, population, concerning which there is far too little discussion. A bold immigration policy is essential. Post-war responsibilities to ourselves, to the Empire, and to the world at large, will be those of a nation of twenty-five million people; this is the position we are earning in the war. Conditions are favorable to an era of tremendous development. We occupy half a continent with a population little bigger that that of London. This is no time to listen to the counsels of the timid little minds who would have us turn away from the vision ahead because of the difficulties, dangers, and risks attendant upon all great and glorious adventures. Let us regain the invincible spirit of the pioneers, always pressing forward to new achievement.

The right way to get better conditions for our present population is through expansion and development, not through trying simply to "stay put" by restrictions, regimentation, and bureaucratic tyranny.

I believe that abundance for all and to spare is round the corner, if we have the faith to look clear-eyed ahead. Let us determine to double our population in the ten years following the war. A decision of this kind would mark the next turning-point of our history, comparable with the decision to build the Canadian Pacific Railway. Students of history will recall how the timid little minds tried to kill the project of the C.P.R. They said Canada was then big enough. We should not venture west of the Great Lakes. Where would we be to-day if the C.P.R. had not been built at the time chosen? That decision was a test of the kind of faith we need again. Our achievement so far, great and worthy, is but a preparation for the development ahead, both in industry and in transport, as well as in agriculture. If Canada reasserts her bold and venturous spirit, there will be no lack of means. Venture capital is ready in abundance; Canada's credit is high; the way is open; shall we go resolutely forward or slink timidly into stagnation and obscurity. I for one believe we shall not betray the trust bequeathed by the pioneers.

English-Speaking and French-Speaking

There are other problems relevant to this discussion. Take the relations between English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians. In all fairness, I should remind you in the beginning, that, as things are, Canada is regarded by the world at large as having done a better job of dealing with language and racial minorities than most other countries have done. And in this I speak from personal knowledge and experience with the League of Nations at Geneva. But perhaps that is not high praise, considering what happens in some other countries! In the relations between English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians there are of course faults on both sides; but we shall never get real improvement until there is among English-speaking Canadians a more general appreciation of certain fundamentals. And the first is that French-speaking Canadians do not share and cannot be expected to share the sentimental link that exists between most other Canadians and the British Isles. For that matter there is no corresponding sentimental attachment between French-speaking Canadians and France herself. Our fellow-citizens of the Province of Quebec are 100% Canadian. But while they have no sentimental ties with any European country they certainly share the inherent logic of their French forbears. Their sentiment is for the soil they occupy; their appreciation of the British connection is intellectual. Moreover, their sense of logic recognizes that in our kind of democracy they must bow to the will of the majority. But they should not be blamed for indulging their strongly developed political instinct to get their own way before they have to bow to the will of the majority if it goes against them. When fundamentals like this are realized,—above all when the intense Canadianism of our French-speaking fellow-citizens is acknowledged,—we shall have gone some way towards smoothing out the remaining causes of friction. While they may not rhapsodize about things British, they know full well that the protecting charter of the way of life they cherish is British in origin and in guarantee. Intimate contact with French-speaking Canadians has convinced me that they have a distinctive contribution to make to our evolving civilization. If our mood cannot be that of gratitude, it should be at least of understanding and not of resentment and prejudice. I submit that the response to a more realistic approach will be equally realistic, to the general advantage.

TOWARDS BETTER CONDITIONS

The second problem I would raise—also internal—concerns the road we shall choose for the betterment of our conditions after the war. Amongst men and women of understanding and goodwill there is not much difference of opinion as to what kind of conditions we seek. For the demobilized men and women of the armed and auxiliary services, general protection and provision. We want prosperity more widely diffused, better education for all, irrespective of rank or money, we want reasonable security of employment, more leisure and better ways to use it; we want humane and just measures to safeguard those who are unemployed through no fault of their own; we want improved health protection within the reach of all; and along with these things we want opportunities for ourselves and our children to get on in life and to share in the great era of expansion which awaits Canada; and do not forget we want our individual freedom as much as anything else, the right to criticize, question, complain, argue and to change our rulers when we feel like it. To achieve these things we accept the certainty of continued high taxation and we know that hard work is in store for all of us. We feel sure however that if we are not hampered, harassed and thwarted by futile restrictions we can get along well enough to make possible improvements we seek.

THE WAY OF FREEDOM

There are two main ways to go about getting these desirable things. One way,—and that is in the line of the British tradition,—is to evolve and reform on the basis of enlightened citizenship, building on the best of the past shaped to new needs and new ideals. This way assumes the sanctity and supremacy of the individual citizen but exacts from him a high standard of social conscience. Consider how this conception works in that all important field of management-labour relations. The owner or manager, eligible for our enlightened citizenship of to-morrow, has little in common with his caricatured predecessor of the industrial revolution, whose religious professions did not discourage him from making high profits from low wages, from opposing trade unions, and the justifiable public control of industry. The proportion of such people has always been exaggerated but their shortcomings have not suffered from lack of advertisement. Their attitude is as much out of date as flogging. No one should complain of righteous indignation against real injustice and real wrong-doing; but it is another matter with the indignation based on untruth. The advocates of regimentation make much noise and bluster about the elleged wickedness of the leaders of industry, and of management generally. Conscious of the necessity of obscuring the real nature of their attack on our freedom, they try to outlaw all who have been in some measure successful in the world of business. "Smearing" is a good old revolutionary custom; our brand of fellow travellers have become adept at malicious and envious invention. Nor is the imagining and misrepresentation all on one side. Unfortunately there are still a few in the ranks of management who are reluctant to admit labour to the place it has won; but their number is few and rapidly diminishing.

Let us deal with facts. Take possessions, for example. High taxation is a great leveller. Ample means, when they still exist, are normally regarded not as an instrument of personal power or extravagance but as a trust. A new standard of social conscience has been set. Similarly with organized labour. It has rightly rejoiced in emancipation to maturity. Its growing pains of jurisdictional strife soon will be resolved. And with the confidence of maturity will come a recognition of a new sense of responsibility in accepting working partnership with management. That is the method of improvement by evolution through the exercise of the social conscience. Freedom of initiative and freedom of choice are retained and strengthened. Management and labour co-operate in the common task of mastering the art of living.

THE WRONG WAY

The other way, recommended by some as the best way to get the desirable things we all want, involves an important departure from our traditions. Its advocates ascribe our ills to the profit motive. They would like to get rid of free enterprise and concentrate nearly all our activities in the state through the government. There is a striking parallel with the arguments used for National Socialism in Germany in 1931 and 1932.

It means regimentation, which involves an upsetting of all our affairs for lavish promises that are a snare and a delusion. Those who advocate this way boast a mystic faith in the magic of government to be a fairy-godmother to all of us. They conveniently ignore the fact that Government can honestly create nothing by itself and apart from the productive work of citizens. Trickery and legerdemain will land us all in a complete mess. The road of regimentation is the road to tyranny; the slope is slippery and seductive; the destination is disillusionment, disappointment and collapse. The road of individualism based upon enlightened citizenship, and in tune with our free traditions, will yield the maximum dividends in happiness, prosperity, and spiritual satisfaction. A great statesman whose inspiring leadership is still at the helm, once used these words:

> "When we are told to exalt and admire a philosophy which destroys individualism and seeks to replace it by collectivism. I say that is a monstrous and imbecile conception which can find no real foothold in the brains and hearts—and the hearts are as trustworthy as the brains—in the hearts of sensible people.
>
> The collectivists put before us a creed of universal self-sacrifice. They preach it in the language of spite and envy, of hatred, and all uncharitableness. They tell us that we should dwell together in unity and comradeship. They are themselves split into twenty obscure factions who hate and abuse each other more than they hate and abuse us. They wish to reconstruct the world. They begin by leaving out human nature.
>
> 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his need.' How nice that sounds. Let me put it in another way. 'You shall work according to your fancy; you shall be paid according to your appetite.' "

That was Mr. Winston Churchill speaking in Dundee.

THE BULWARK OF THE FUTURE

The internal problems, mentioned, have their bearing upon our place in the Empire and in the world of the future. And now specifically with regard to the pivot of our external relations.

In a considerable experience of personal contacts with the public men of the Empire, two incidents stand out in my memory. The first was a conversation with Lord Milner in Montreal in 1911 when I was an undergraduate at McGill about to be nominated for a Rhodes Scholarship to Oxford. Lord Milner, as you will recall, was a great Empire builder, administrator, and statesman. Through his inspiration of the group of young men he gathered round him in South Africa, (Lionel Curtis, Philip Kerr (afterwards Lord Lothian), John Dove, founder and first editor of the *Round Table Review,* Geoffrey Dawson, for years the Editor of *The Times,* Lionel Hitchens, who became head of Cammell Lairds the great ship-building firm, and others of the same high vision and idealism) there emerged the conception of the British Commonwealth and Empire of today. Lord Milner was talking to me about Empire ideals and responsibilities, and I secured his permission to take a verbatim account of his wording of the central thought. Here is the note then recorded:

> "We are embarking upon a great experiment, something new in history. We are trying to apply the democratic principle to a world empire. The attempt is based upon firm belief in the integrity and vitality of citizenship for service which is fundamental to British thought. Our Empire has grown partly by accident, partly through the enterprise of our traders, very little through calculated national aggrandizement. Many of our world responsibilities were unsought; but it is not of our nature to evade or to retreat. Some day we shall be challenged by those who envy our place in the world, not because they think they can do a better job for humanity but because they seek power

> and profit through aggression. I am firmly convinced that our free association of peoples under the Crown will accept the challenge and will save the world from tyranny. I am convinced also that no other means can save the world. It is your duty as a Rhodes Scholar to accept responsibility for doing your share in preparing for the test to come. In Oxford, elsewhere in England, and perhaps in Canada, you will encounter those whose lack of knowledge or failure of understanding would break up our heritage. Lose no chance to reveal to them their error and to counteract their mistaken activities."

The other incident took place twenty-five years later, in September 1936, when I visited Lord Snowden in Surrey to say good-bye before returning to Canada. Philip Snowden, as he was better known, was a staunch Labour leader who served as Chancellor of the Exchequer in Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's administration. Having come across the note on Lord Milner's observations in 1911, I showed it to Lord Snowden and asked him for his opinion as well as for his permission to record it. Here it is:

> "Milner and I were poles apart in public affairs, although I respected his integrity and distinguished service. During most of my life the affairs of the Empire held no attraction for me; I concentrated on the improvement of social conditions at home. It was not until I found myself a Cabinet Minister that I became aware of the value and significance of the British experiment. I had hoped that the League of Nations might make our Empire unnecessary; but I soon discovered that the British Empire was the only real League of Nations in existence. Let us treasure it at least until we have something better."

In the period between the world wars, the period of suspended hostilities as the German General Staff calls it, Canada was not alone in listening sometimes and too often to the counsels of timidity and misgiving. Similar voices were raised in other parts of the Empire. But fortunately the instinct of self-preservation prevailed, and we were not persuaded to deny the supreme challenge when it was renewed in 1939. While there was never any real doubt that Canada would do her duty, it is of value to recall that those who, in the years between the wars, had tried to weaken our ties with the Empire and to sabotage measures of armed defense, did their best to keep us out of the war, and when this failed, tried to limit our contribution to the profitable sale of our natural products. During the week that elapsed between Britain's declaration of war and the meeting of Canada's Parliament to approve our Government's commitment to war,the most strenuous efforts were made to change the decision. As General Manager of the CBC I was the point of impact of pressure when an endeavour was made to use the national radio for the purpose of stampeding public opinion in advance of the meeting of Parliament. Needless to say the conspiracy was detected and defeated. I make this reference to what is past not to stir up old controversies but to emphasize the need of vigilance in the future. The party line to the subversive influences will remain with us, as will the malicious and envious creations of our brand of fellow-travellers.

As a mature and trusted partner in the British Commonwealth and Empire, and with the respect and comradeship of the great Republic to the South, our future unfolds in a way unexampled in history. Time is bound to bring its changes; its shifts of the centres of power. It may be indeed that Canada is destined in due course to relieve the United Kingdom of the main burden and responsibility of the British Commonwealth and Empire. Gentlemen, I suggest to you *that* is a better road than the way to the isolated obscurity of a tiny and remote republic, a playground for Marxian experiments, a nursery of frustration.

Now as to the proposal that we should cut the painter with Britain to navigate as a member of a still shadowy world federation. It may be that an effective and complete world federation will come to pass, with the spread of civilization and enlightenment. That objective is not to be ignored or neglected. But, for the present, it is surely our duty and our interest to do all we can to maintain and strengthen the only considerable world federation which has stood the test of time and war: The British Commonwealth and Empire.

In conclusion permit me to borrow a thought from the message which I heard the former Lord Birkenhead give to the students of Glasgow University in 1923.

For as long as the records of history have been preserved human societies have passed through a ceaseless process of evolution and adjustment. This process has been sometimes pacific, but more often it has resulted from warlike disturbance. The strength of different nations, measured in terms of arms, varies from century to century. The world continues to offer glittering prizes to those who have stout hearts, sharp words and predatory instincts; it is therefore extremely improbable that the experience of future ages will differ in any material respect from that which has happened since the twilight of the human race. It is for us, therefore, who in our history have proved ourselves a martial rather than a military people, to abstain, as has been our habit, from provocation; but to maintain in our own hand the adequate means for our own protection, and, so equipped, to march with heads erect along the road to our Imperial destiny.

“BRITAIN AND THE FUTURE”

An Address By

COMMANDER STEPHEN KING-HALL, R.N.

Chairman: The President, Mr. W. Eason Humphreys

Thursday, October 21, 1943

Mr. Humphreys: Today is the anniversary of the Battle of Trafalgar, which took place October 21, 1905. It is, therefore, fitting that our guest today is an ex-naval officer.

Before introducing our guest, I am going to ask Mr. H. G. J. Rennie, the well-known Canadian actor and artist, to render the prayer which Lord Nelson offered in his cabin prior to going on deck to fight the Battle of Trafalgar: At night, in the North Sea during the Battle of Jutland, Commander Stephen King-Hall's ship, H.M.S. *Southampton,* fought *four* German light cruisers at 800 yards range.

Seventy-five per cent of upper deck personnel were casualties. Our guest, “K.-H.”, as he is affectionately known to many thousands of people, was the only survivor from a cordite fire in the after part of the ship from which he miraculously escaped.

Commander Stephen King-Hall's service and achievements tempt me to tell you all of them. They would interest you as much as the address we are about to hear, but I must content myself with these:

A thesis in 1920 on *Submarines in the Future of Naval Warfare* won Commander King-Hall the coveted Gold Medal of the Royal Institute. At about the same time, he published a forecast of military developments covering tanks and the importance of land mine fields. That was in 1921. In the light of the African Campaign, those writings might have been made yesterday. After serving in the Far East, travelling extensively through China and Japan, Commander King-Hall was appointed intelligence officer to the Mediterranean Fleet, his duties causing him to travel North Africa, the Balkans, and the Middle East.

In 1930, our guest retired from the navy and organized special political and economic research at the Royal Institure of International Affairs.

Commander King-Hall is playwright and author, too. Many of you have seen his famous comedy, *The Middle Watch*.

Travelling over Europe and America, Commander King-Hall became convinced of the imminent danger to democracy of Fascism and Naziism, and as part of his campaign to arouse public opinion to this danger, he founded in 1936 what was then known as the *K-H Weekly News Letter,* nowadays known over the world as the *National News Letter.* I understand its title is being changed to the *London News Letter.* By means of cable it is published here simultaneously.

A division of Lancashire sent Commander King-Hall to the British Parliament in 1939, and as honorary director, he has just concluded a very successful national fuel economy campaign in Britain.

Stephen King-Hall's many books have provocative titles—his new book, just being published, is called *Britain's Third Chance.*

I shall try and make Commander Stephen King-Hall feel really at home here by introducing him to you thus:

Gentlemen, "K.-H."

Commander Stephen King-Hall: I find myself in a certain difficulty, for I am trying to do something in which perfection is impossible. I see in front of me a large, representative and distinguished gathering. To this gathering I am trying to make a speech. I like to make speeches without notes; I like to sense the atmosphere of the audience and adapt myself to their moods or try to make them share mine. But, attached to my person is a small and sinister-looking object which is nothing more or less than a microphone. Beyond the microphone is an audience of an unknown number of listeners. That these radio listeners will listen to me for a full thirty minutes, I very much doubt, but I would like to keep YOU, and when I say YOU, I now mean the listener, on my wave length as long as possible, and to achieve this purpose I must make a good broadcast. When one does a broadcast, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation not unnaturally wishes to see the script, in order to remove therefrom any particularly clumsy-looking tricks which the speaker may ignorantly or wickedly intend to project into Radioland. So here I am making a speech with a script in my hand. I only hope I shant lose my place in the blessed thing!

As an Englishman and a Member of Parliament, I must be careful what I say,—but not too careful, or else I shant say anything. I remember that in 1934, when I travelled across Canada, the Statute of Westminster was still almost news, and I always got on good terms with my audiences by telling them that I was not a high-hat Englishman with his nose in the air. On the contrary, I had come to Canada to learn,—but there was one plank in my political platform that I was going to stick to, and that was that I was very firm on Domonion Status for Great Britain.

That's just my personal opinion. In fact, everything I'm saying today is my personal opinion. I am an Independent Member of Parliament, supporting the National Government, and I am over here on my own steam, so to speak. I am not under anyone's auspices. When I discussed British-American relations with Congressmen in Washington, I said, "Take a good look at me, you won't see many of my kind about, for I believe I am about the only Englishman on American soil who has paid his own passage to get here. I didn't even get here on reverse lease-lend!"

No, gentlemen, I am just over here for two purposes. To inform myself by first hand enquiry about Canada's war effort, Canadians' views about the future and American views on the same subject. I hold it to be the duty of a Member of Parliament to find out about these things. Secondly, I am over here because I happen to own *London News Letter,* which has the distinction of being the only English organ of news and opinion which is published simultaneously in London and Toronto. We cable it over word for word each week. I regard *London News Letter* as a privately operated public utility. We try to use it as an instrument of English-speaking understanding.

I am not one of those who spend much time arguing whether or not there should be some form of British-American co-operation after the war. I believe that events will take care of that. It will be just plainly impossible for any great Power, least of all Great Britain, Canada and the United States to withdraw from participation in attempts to solve the terribly difficult world problems, political and economic, which will crowd upon us when the last all clear is sounded.

In the last war, I was in a little ship in the Battle of Jutland, and we were pretty badly knocked out. People have sometimes said to me: "It must have needed great courage to go through that". I have always replied: "On the contrary, there was nothing else to do but to stay there. The alternative was to step into the North Sea." So I am not concerned about co-operation in principle. What we have got to work out is how that co-operation is to be translated into practise.

The fact is that whether humanity likes it or not, and a good many people don't like it. the phrase "Am I my brother's keeper?" is not solely a great moral issue. It is an economic and a political fact.

In the days between the wars, eminent persons used to get up any say that it was no concern of nation "A" what sort of government existed in nation "B". I always declared that this was pernicious nonsense. I always said that there was no compromise possible between the democratic conception of life and the Fascist and Nazi conception. I always said that it did not matter to us that there was a Fascist government in Italy, and a Nazi government in Germany, and that I hoped that it would matter like the devil to the Fascists and Nazis what kind of a government we had in Britain.

Unfortunately it didn't matter enough.

Once again I hear the dangerous and syrup-soothing doctrine being preached that every nation has the right to choose its own form of government. If you mean the actual style of government, I will agree. If you mean the principle of government, I dissent.

It may be that in certain cases, we can do nothing much about it, but we can refuse to deceive ourselves. We can have the honesty to admit that until the broad principles of the free way of life, the four freedoms are universally accepted, peace is not secure.

We can propagate and advocate the free way of life. We *can* and we *must* show the world by example that the free way of life can deliver the goods and tackle the complex technical problems of modern civilization.

When this war is over, we must realize that Peace is not something which falls from Heaven like the rain. Peace is something more than a state of no-war. Peace is, or ought to be, something dynamic and constructive. Why is it that only war and destruction are dramatized? Why are there always Ministeries of War and never Ministries of Peace?

Why is it that there is always so much talk about preparing for war and not more talk about making peace secure?

Why do the cartoonists the world over depict peace as a dull-looking lady in a badly cut nightgown with wings sprouting from her shoulders?

Men do not die for such ladies. Not men who matter!

No! Peace is supposed to be dull, and war, though terrible, is exciting.

But Peace is not dull. The battles and struggles against disease, against that universal enemy of mankind, poverty, can also be dramatic and exciting and call for sacrifice and high endeavour.

Today the human race is expending on war-like effort an amount of wealth which, measured by the yard-stick of money, approaches four hundred million dollars a day.

That is, at a conservative estimate, twenty million dollars an hour; shall we say, three hundred and thirty thousand dollars a minute, or about fifty thousand dollars a second.

Fifty thousand dollars a second, every minute, every hour, night and day, every week, every month, every year.

I do not say this is too high a price to pay for liberty. No price can be too high, provided when the account is settled we achieve our purpose.

But we shall not achieve our purpose unless when the shooting is over, when military victory is achieved, we are prepared to make a great effort to spend for peace and constructive purposes some fraction of what we spend for war and destructive objects.

I mentioned just now the struggle against poverty. Let me give you some figures to illustrate the absurdly small amount of progress we have made on that battle front.

It has become the fashion recently to talk and write of poverty in the midst of plenty and to assert that the problem of production having been virtually solved, it now only remains to deal with the difficulties of distribution. This is a most misleading line of thought. It can be shown statistically that the world as a whole is still a miserably poor place and that whilst it is true that there is a great mal-distribution of real wealth both as between nations and between classes of persons inside nations, the amount of wealth to be distributed is but a small fraction of what could be produced if the world's economic problem were tackled in a big way.

Another view often advanced is that although the productive capacity exists, it is used so inefficiently that the gap between what mankind does produce with its existing resources of labour, machinery and raw materials and what it could produce is considerable. This is not so.

Mr. Colin Clark exposes these fallacies in his book "Conditions of Economic Progress". In order to compare incomes on a world basis, he has invented what he calls an International Unit (the I. U.). This unit is defined as the amount of goods which could be purchased for $1.00 in the U. S. A. over the average of the decade 1925-34. He then expresses the average real income in each country per head of the working population and concludes "the world is found to be a wretchedly poor place".

An average real income per worker of 500 I. U.'s (approx. £2 or $10 or less a week per *breadwinner*) is the fate of 81 per cent of the world's population. A standard of living of 1,000 I. U.'s per worker per year is found only in the U. S. A., Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Argentine, Great Britain and Switzerland, which contain 10 per cent of the world's population.

About 53 per cent of the world's population, including the whole population of India and China, enjoy a real income per head of less than 200 I. U.'s. The average real income per *breadwinner* in China and India is about 120 and 200 I. U.'s respectively.

During the decade 1925-34 the entire world's production of economic goods and services averaged 254 milliard I. U.'s per year. Of this output 119 milliard were produced in the four large units of the U. S. A., Great Brtain, Germany and France, which contained only 13 per cent of the world's population.

One can sum up this position in these words:

"Two-thirds of the world's whole output of economically valuable goods and services was therefore produced in the so-called industrial countries containing less than one-third of the world's population, and nearly half of the world's whole output in four countries."

"Oft-repeated phrases about poverty in the midst of plenty, and the problems of production having already been solved if only we understood the problems of distribution, turn out to be the most untruthful of all modern clichés. In the U. S. A. the highest level of real income per head of the working population so far attained was in 1929 with 1,582 I. U.'s per head (on the basis of a 48-hour week). If all the industries of the U. S. A. had been working at full practical capacity (which would have involved extensive economic re-organization) average income produced per head would have been 1,905 I. U.'s and in 1937 about 2,200 I. U.'s. These figures are very modest compared with the fantastic statements sometimes made about the extent of unused productive capacity. Britain and Germany working at full productive capacity could have produced in 1937 approximately 1,500 I. U.'s and 1,000 I. U.'s per head respectively, while actually they produced 1,275 and 828 I. U.'s per head respectively. . . . The age of plenty will still be a long while in coming."

These facts indicate but one of the great tasks which lie ahead of us in the days of peace, if we are to create a war memorial worthy of the men and women who have *died* that we might *live,* in liberty.

And now, Mr. Chairman, having indicated to you and those who are listening to me something of the nature of the problem which lies before us, a problem which can be summarized by saying: "How are we to ensure that we reap the fruits of military victory", I will say a few words about the part which I hope will be played in this great endeavour by my own country. If you were to ask me what is the greatest need of humanity in the years to come, I would reply with the words "democratic leadership."

We know what we have to do.

We know that though might is not right, yet right must have might behind it. At least, if we don't know that, we have learned nothing.

We also know that we have the technical capacity to make the world a far more prosperous place than it has ever been before. We have seen during the war that the most immense tasks of engineering construction, of technical development, of human organization, can be achieved in an amazingly short time.

What then is needed?

Only the stimulus and inspiration of leadership.

In Britain, the people have passed through the furnace. They have been tempered in the heat of battle and the dark waters of suffering.

England found her soul again in the ruins of her cities, in the darkness of the blackout, the austerity of the way of life of total war.

It is that same spirit which throughout the centuries has withstood the tyrants.—Phillip of Spain, Louis the Fourteenth, Napoleon, the Kaiser, and Hitler. All those symbols of tyranny have been broken by a resistance in which the British have played a notable part.

But as I have indicated earlier in my remarks, it is not enough to resist and overthrow tyranny. Something must be built in its place. In my country, we have before us the vision of a new Britain.

Men of all classes and of all parties and no parties are declaring "We will not go back to 1939." They believe we need not have mass unemployment.

I believe them to be right. The mood of my nation is strong and determined.

Where there is a will, there is a way, and in Britain today there is a strong will. There is a feeling of determined and quiet optimism for the future. A realization that, great as the difficulties will be, they can not be more formidable than the perils through which we passed in those dark days when save for the Dominions, we stood alone.

This issue goes far beyond academic discussions as to whether we shall be socialistic or capitalistic. On this side of the Ocean, and especially in the United States, I find much debate on that subject. I am asked: "Is it true England is going to be socialistic?" I reply: "Your question means nothing to me. It is an echo from a dead past." You are talking 1900 stuff.

England is going to be practical; England is going to be flexible; England is going to be resourceful," and I add, "I hope England is going to remain united." The need of national unity, now and after the war, is the doctrine I am doing my best to preach.

There will be planning in Britain after the war. It is inevitable and desirable. The State will intervene to a greater extent in economic life than it did in 1939; that is certain.

But the function of the State will be to create a framework in which individual initiative and enterprise shall have ample scope.

In some industries, there will be considerable control; in others, much less.

In the 19th Century, Great Britain led the world in free trade and laissez-faire,—what our American friends called "rugged individualism".

That was all right for the pioneering era of western civilization. The world has moved on, and individualism will have to be a little more polished, a little less selfish, and a good deal less rugged.

In the decades to come, it will, I believe, be the role of the British to show by example how the economic advantages of private enterprise and the political and social requirements of public control can be welded into an harmonious whole.

I should be the first to admit that the Britain of the Future can not be created out of wishful thinking. We must create wealth. We must work hard and intelligently. Much needs to be done in our island. There are 4,000,000 new homes to be built in 10 years. Our road system must be modernized. We intend to build up a great tourist industry. I believe you will be able to come to Britain and stay in an inn under the shadow of a 15th Century cathedral and your meal will not consist of tough meat and badly cooked vegetables. Your bedroom will be centrally heated and there will be an open fireplace as well, and if you want it. a slot in the bathroom down which to drop razor blades. We shall develop our Colonial Empire, which we have greatly neglected in the past. Our export trade must concentrate on quality, especially in the new industries, such as plactics, and the many electrical developments which have come out of this war.

The Beveridge scheme of social security, the Butler educational reforms, and the Scott, Barlow and Utthwatt reports are the symbols of the New Britain which I hope and believe will make my country a pleasant place in which to dwell, and also a nation which will set an example to the world of what a democracy can achieve.

For make no mistake about it, Gentlemen, democracy is on trial. It has proved that it can survive, but that is not enough. It has also got to prove that it can deliver the goods in the shape of a better and a fuller life to the man in the street than he had between the two wars.

And this reflection brings me back to the international situation.

The test which faces the Governments and the peoples of the United Nations is whether in the hour of military victory they can hold together and co-operate together to construct and retain a durable peace.

This can not be an exclusive job.

No peace which is founded solely on military strength will endure for more than a season. Wars are not acts of God; they are acts of men.

War is made in the hearts of men and peace, real peace, can only be made in the same place. Some time in the future, when we cannot now say, those who are now our enemies will have to earn the right and the privilege to participate in the maintenance of that system of collective security which they destroyed with their evil aggression. For the time being, we have first the task of achieving military victory, and secondly, the task of creating an United Nations structure within whose protection world peace can grow.

When this war is over, there will be three great powers,—the U. S. A., the Commonwealth, and Russia,—which will have the strength to keep order, to re-build the world.

I hope that Britain, which is linked through Canada to the U. S. A., and by her twenty years treaty with Russia, will be able to make a contribution to that unity.

And let me say this: one of the impressions I take back with me as a result of my visit this time is the political importance of Canada in the post-war world. And if it is not an impertinence on my part to say so, I think that Canadians must strive ceaslessly to develop and sustain that Canadian personality and particular identity which owes something both to American and British influence. The more truly and concisely Canada is Canadian in her culture, the more effectively will she, in my opinion, play the part of catalyst in British-American relations.

Mr. Chairman, the time is approaching when I must bring this speech-broadcast to an end. Whenever I speak on these world problems as I have done today, I often think to myself, how can I bring these issues down to the individual. After all, we each have our daily job to perform, and there is a tendency when one listens to a speech such as I have delivered, to look at one's watch, so to speak, and say: "Very interesting and no doubt very true, but what can I as an individual do about all this? Anyhow, I've got an appointment at 3 o'clock and I mustn't forget to take that parcel home to my wife."

It would be very nice if I could conclude this speech with a neat little perscription saying exactly what must be done today, tomorrow and thereafter in order that the British should assume this much-needed role of leadership. But the spirit of leadership of a permanent kind cannot be obtained from bottles. The only way in which Britain as a nation can express world leadership is through the existence of a government which will say and do those things which become a leader and do them in the manner of a leader. Such a government will exist in Britain only if the citizens of Britain create and support a leadership government.

Here we come to the Individual and he is the root of the matter, as he should be in a democracy.

If you were to say to me: "Yes, I agree in general with your views and suggestions, but what is the next step, what can I do about it, I who have to go to my work tomorrow morning?", my answer would be as follows: "Examine your own circumstances and ask yourself what contribution you are making to citizenship. Every case is necessarily different from the others, but some of the following questions may in part apply to you.

SELF EXAMINATION

1. Do you make a conscious effort to spend a certain amount of time every day or every week finding out the

facts about current political and economic problems?

2. Do you make a point of discussing these matters either formally in discussion groups or informally with your fellow-citizens?

3. If you have children, do you talk to them about citizenship? Can you answer their questions?

4. Do you take any part in local government either directly or indirectly?

5. Do you belong to any political organization?

6. In your business, do you think solely of making money or do you make a conscious effort to provide the public with a service?

7. If you are in public life do you strive to tell the people the truth even when it seems they want to hear something else?

8. Are you supporting men and women in public life whom you believe to be persons of integrity and character, or do you support them because you hope to get some personal benefit out of it?

9. If you are in public life have you ever done anything you felt was not right in the hope that by doing this wrong thing you would achieve a personal gain?

10. If you noticed that through an error you had been taxed less than you should have been, would you rectify this mistake?

11. If you are an employee, can you say that you would do your joob to the best of your ability without supervision?

12. If you were on your death-bed, could you truthfully say that you had done your utmost during your life to put more *into* society than you had taken *out* of it?

13 Do you understand the meaning of the phrase: "Rights and privileges arise from duties faithfully performed"?

14. Do you ever neglect to pay your bills because you prefer to spend the money on something else?

15. Have you ever put your name to a statement you knew was not true, such as a certificate of character,, an income tax form, a medical health certificate, a letter asking for leave of absence, a company report?

16. If you are an author, journalist or broadcaster, have you ever written or said anything for money which you did not agree with?

17. If you are a newspaper proprietor, have you ever advocated policies other than those you sincerely believed to be in the national interest?

18. If you are a manufacturer or a retailer, have you ever circulated or sponsored an advertisement which you knew to be untrue?

19. If you are a salesman, have you ever sold anyone something you knew they did not need?

20. If you are a doctor, do you give as much care and thought to your poorest patient as you would to your richest patient?

21. If you are a teacher, do you put the dissemination of truth above everything else?

22. In conclusion and taking your life as a whole, do you think that it would be unreasonable to ask you to make a larger contribution to citizenship than you do at present or that it would be far beyond your power to increase even to a small extent either the quantity or quality of your contribution?

* * * * *

Here, then, are some 22 questions flung at random into the pool of discussion. They are only illustrative and another 20 or 100 of a similar kind could have been drafted to cover more occupations, more examples of the eternal problem, the problem of MAN and MEN, or MAN and HIMSELF, the central problem of life. But twenty-two are enough to illustrate what I mean and to show that the great and complex questions discussed in this speech, questions touching the destinies of millions born and to be born can be reduced to the single issue of the conduct of the individual.

In the Great Teaching of Tseng-Tsan, a diciple of the Chinese sage, Confucius, it is written:

"When we have studied phenomena, we may obtain knowledge; when we have attained knowledge, we may acquire good-will; when we have acquired good-will, the heart is chastened; when the heart is chastened, man is cultured; when man is cultured, order reigns in his family; when order reigns in his family, it reigns also in his country; and when order reigns in every country peace reigns in the world.

These words written two thousand five hundred years ago show us the way we must go. They also show us that after two thousand five hundred years of trial and error, two and a half millenniums during which Man has evaded the issue, we are where we started and where we must end; at the Individual and his behaviour towards his responsibilities in the free way of life.

"A BUSINESS MAN SPEAKS UP"

An Address By

MR. RALPH W. CARNEY,
Wichita, Kansas.

Chairman: The President, Mr. W. Eason Humphreys

Tuesday, November 26, 1943

Mr. Humphreys: Last May, a voice was heard from this platform and through this microphone, which made a very marked impression upon everyone who heard it—the voice was that of Mr. Ralph W. Carney.

Mr. Carney's address on that occasion *had* to be re-broadcast several times, and more than 20,000 printed copies have so far been asked for. Few men have provoked such public interest within the scope of this platform. And by the way, Mr. Carney, I agree with so many others that your tribute to the British Empire on that occasion is a classic, and that it might well find a place in the school-books of our children.

Not only does Mr. Carney honour us with another address today, which I know will be thought-provoking, but, through the War Finance Committee, he is donating about two weeks of his time and talent to the "Speed the Victory" campaign—a neighbourly act for which Canada is truly grateful.

Forgive me if I take a moment more for the sake of those who may be hearing Mr. Carney in person for the first time.

Ralph W. Carney is Vice-President of the Coleman Lamp and Stove Company of Wichita, Kansas. He and his colleagues in the United States and in Canada are inspired with but a single purpose—that purpose being to help their fellow countrymen through the war and the peace to follow by deeds and by public discussion.

Like most of us, Mr. Carney is a business man, but otherwise he is really a soldier without a gun on *a* home front. He did admit, however, to carrying a *vocal* machine gun!

Mr. Carney has already given two bond campaign speeches this morning, and he speaks again over the air tonight, before the thousands of people who will be at Massey Hall to hear him in person.

It is with keen anticipation that I now introduce Mr. Ralph W. Carney, whose address is entitled: "A Business Man Speaks Up".

MR. CARNEY: This audience today and your kind and cordial reception is a heart-warming thing to an American who was a stranger to most all of you only a few months ago. An audience of this kind does not appear by accident and, because you accepted, with such kindliness, the message that I had for you before, I know you are here today with some degree of expectation in your minds and I truly hope that this will not be an anticlimax, although, when we remove from our discussion the natural militant appeals of wartime, and extract from it the emotions aroused when we contemplate the dangers and the sacrifices of our sons, it means that this discussion today must, of necessity, be more matter-of-fact, with the end and aim of provoking serious thought rather than that of arousing any prairie fire of enthusiasm.

I'm here in Canada again, to lend my services for whatever they may be worth to your War Finance Committee and to the Canadian people on behalf of your Fifth Victory Loan, and every other talk with one exception that I shall make in Canada will be on behalf of your Fifth Victory Loan and a re-stimulation of flagging war spirits, if there be any, and I believe that my confrere and associate, Mr. Weldon, has arranged engagements, both noon and night, for every day I am here—Saturdays and Sundays included! How he happened to miss breakfast engagements, I shall never know! And when you lay me to rest at the end of this two weeks, please remember that not *all* soldiers die on a battle front!

Therefore, I may be pardoned if I depart from the war-time and Victory Loan theme, for a straight discussion here, one business man to another; more or less as if I were sitting with you in your offices.

Please believe me when I tell you that there is no political implication in anything I say, either as affecting parties in the United States, or here in Canada, and certainly not the latter because it would be presumptuous of me to advise on matters of opinion as between your own political parties.

I do not view our postwar future in terms of differences between political parties as we know them; but there is a definite conflict between two ideas, the same conflict that is now bringing about internecine warfare in Greece and differences between Mikhailovitch and Tito's partisans where we might hope that all the Greeks and all of the Czechs and all of the Jugoslavs would be fighting the Nazis, and this conflict of ideas is almost worldwide in character carrying little relationship to parties, because parties, in America at least, are split right down the middle. Those two ideas are:

First—The Western Hemisphere adaptation of National Socialism, without its European brutality, and with only, to start with, a "gloved-hand Gestapo", but nevertheless Socialism, Fascism, Communism, whatever you may want to name it. It is supported by all of the Left-Wingers, who are very adapt in throwing the name "Fascist" at anyone who opposes Socialism or Communism, and it represents a control in the hands of the inexperienced and impractical few of the activities of the many, and a complete destruction of private enterprise and the rules and laws of thrift and incentive as we have known them.

The defenders of this idea use very high-sounding names and phrases with constant references to "the common man", without ever identifying just who this *common man* may be—I think that we are all common men—and with unctious cries about "human rights being paramount always to property rights", the implication being that anyone who has ever earned and saved, who has obeyed the laws of industry and thrift, must therefore be a wretched opponent of human rights. Actually, you know, it is those who have acquired some substance that support the churches and schools and hospitals and community chests, and they contribute toward every movement having to do with human rights.

I would like to quote to you the statement of the greatest "Common Man" in American history—born in a log cabin—educated before a fire place—a rail splitter and a country storekeeper—the poorest man ever to enter the White House:

> "Property is the fruit of labor, property is desirable, is a positive good in the world. That some should be rich shows that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise . . . Let not him who is homeless pull down the house of another, but let him labor diligently to build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence. . . . I don't believe in a law to prevent a man from getting rich; it would do more harm than good."

You may quarrel, if you wish, with Ralph Carney, but it would be pretty silly for these so-called friends of the common man to quarrel with Abraham Lincoln, the friend of all the poor and the emancipator of the slaves.

And then again, Winston Churchill, one of the all-time great men of British history:

> "WE MUST BEWARE," said Winston Churchill—"We must beware of trying to build a society in which nobody counts for anything except a politician or an official, a society where enterprise gains no reward, and thrift no privileges."

You may quarrel with Ralph Carney, if you wish, but I should not advise you to quarrel with Winston Churchill, unless you do so within the privacy of your own bathroom.

The Second Idea—Belief in Democracy—and that is a very simple thing; namely, the right of an individual to be born, to an education, and then the sky's the limit—to make the most of his own abilities, opportunities, industry and thrift. It does not mean that all opportunities are equal, or that all men are equal, because indeed they are not. There is no equality in all of Nature. In every forest one tree grows taller and mightier than the rest, and we point to it with admiration and pride; in every corn field one stalk sends its tassels nearer to the sky, nodding in grateful acknowledgment to the God that enabled it to produce better ears of corn; on every rose bush there is the loveliest flower; in every pack of wild horses there is one stallion for a leader. Equality does not come even within the laws and purposes of God.

Democracy does mean *equal opportunity* for each man—not necessarily to make as much of himself as some other man of greater capacity and who is willing to pay a greater price—"Let not him who is homeless pull down the house of another"—but an equal opportunity for each man to make the most of himself and his own abilities, and that property rights are human rights inseparable and indistinguishable in the highest sense.

Those are the two diametrically opposed ideas, and they are coming into head-on conflict. The entire purpose of the advocates of the first idea is to take by many means and methods, using taxation both for extraction and for punishment, from him who has and give to him who has not.

This isn't God's plan either. Remember how Christ complimented the man with ten talents who traded and made another ten talents, and the man with five who made another five! And whom did He criticize? The man with one talent who buried it and made nothing at all.

Pretty hard to quarrel with Lincoln and Churchill and the Almighty, isn't is?

Since you are business men and have the most to lose through the approach of this creeping form of Fascism, being offered under the deluding name of "Planned Economy", and since my criticism of you lies in the fact that you have been so unwilling to make a determined and organized fight against it, then I think it is right and proper for me to present the case from the standpoint of the business man.

Please understand now, that nothing I say has any application to war policies, emergencies or methods. I do not even have in mind a lot of the war waste and inefficiency—only the trend that had already made itself plain before the war and will, with increasing force, after this war is over.

One of the mistakes that we had made in the United States during the ten years before the war was that of departing from the characteristic and typical American (and Canadian, too) custom of self-reliance and the individually solving of our own problems, earning our own rewards and accepting our own penalties, and providing our own security, and we began to let the politicians do it for us.

It may not be true here in Canada, but in the States, the men elected to public office, in so many cases, were not men of great abilities in their private lives but were men of slight ability or men who had failed, because truly capable men would not leave their businesses to run for public office and, while among them of course, were some fine and intelligent representatives and a few, statesmen and skilled administrators of Government—on the whole, those who began to vote away our lives and pocketbooks were not men who were the real leaders of a community, but rather, those who had time for a political campaign and developed within themselves, political ambition.

Because we ran into a world-wide depression following the other World War, for the time being we became like frightened children and we expected these politicians, through some new and strange legerdemain and, by new principles and plans—both unknown and untried—to provide wealth and comfort for us, while no one worked to produce it.

The impression was created that there simply were no jobs except the jobs the Government could provide. Certainly there was panic and unemployment for a short while, just as there has been periodically many times before, and will be again. We had an enormous glut of merchandise that could not be absorbed while people were in the grip of fear and the complete circulation of money had stopped. Just as a pile of ice cream however would begin to melt, so we would have come out of that panic naturally, just as a person afflicted with a slight illness recovers best through the simple laws and forces of Nature. Local communities and states could have taken care of all of the real distress. The local community knew the difference between a lazy man and a worthy man out of work. It would have cost some money, but pennies only to the millions that were spent in Federal cures. States and provinces knew better their own states and provinces than men far removed in a centralized government, particularly when those men were more interested in establishing a new form of government than they were in relieving distress, and merely used human distress as a means to their political end.

Community Chests and the Red Cross were there with experience and offices and organizations that could have been expanded to meet depression conditions.

The equal fact is, that there were many who *did not want* to work! It was not that they could not find a job but they did not *want* the job they could find!

To cure that temporary illness that carried some genuine distress for the time being, we began adopting expedients and quack-doctor cures, and doing so each time under the guise of an emergency. Then, it became plain that emergencies could be created so that more cures could be applied and still further enhance the idea of control that became dictatorship, in fact, regardless of what high sounding name you may want to give it.

A haven was provided for all of the lunatic fringe—the crack pots, the theorists, the dreamers, the something-for-nothing boys—who found it easy to spend the other fellow's dollar because they, themselves, had never earned a dollar nor learned its value.

Soon the cure became worse than the disease and every principle of sound private business was discarded in government.

Now it is too bad, and I say this because there will be some critical murmurings here and there when I am through, that no speaker today can discuss economics, or even plain and ordinary phases of business, without being immediately accused of political bias and, I was given some friendly warnings before I came up here—warnings, that I have chosen to disregard because if you did not expect me to speak frankly and sincerely, then you should not have invited me.

The reason for this modern inability to separate Business and Economics from Politics, quite likely is that, from the beginning of our government until the start of our New Deal, business men were more or less free to plan and execute the development of their own industries, controlled by reasonable laws against monopolies and fraud and "combinations in restraint of trade", without a Federal "wet nurse"; nor were they continually frightened by the threatening spectacle of a "governmental woodshed".

Then, too, we were accustomed to government by elected representatives and, regardless of their abilities and experience, we nevertheless elected them and they were our representatives. We knew who they were and we could change or retire them at frequent intervals and rebuke them in the meantime.

I want to clarify one point here, and that is what I mean in my reference to politicians.

While I do include the irresponsible spending type, who think only of election and re-election, through the dispensing of public funds, even more than these I mean the invisible government behind the scenes, for whom no one voted.

I would not have you feel that I am one of those who believes in this present campaign to discredit our Congress or your Parliament. Our last Congress was remarkably courageous and whatever may be said about our representative bodies, and whatever weakness they may have, it still remains that they are the latest and the truest representatives of the people.

Our form of government is not a pure democracy. It is a representative form and when we elect men, we must abide by our own decisions and, rather than to loosely and, in generalities, condemn Congress or Parliament, it would be better if we each became acquainted with our representatives—go to see them when they're home—write them your opinions—wire them when important bills are up for consideration—and let them feel the weight and pressure of your opinions.

It is only natural for them to listen to the voice that cries the loudest and the business men's voice has been distressingly still.

Remember this, that any man who aspires to be a dictator must first burn down the Reichstag! Therefore, I resist and resent the efforts of those who attempt to discredit our Congress because I greatly distrust their motives.

We soon found, however, that Government through edict and directives, and assumption of power, came from those for whom no one at all had voted—bureaucrats—appointees—with no responsibility to the public and who could not be retired from their positions—men who either set themselves up as above the law, or, who attempted to twist and interpret the law to suit their fantastic ideas of social planning and, in my country, a bold and flagrant and direct attempt upon our Supreme Court, when they tried to pack it—an act promptly rebuked by nearly all of our people.

It was those that constituted this inevitable, untouchable government who began to threaten and abuse Business. They controlled the disposition of federal patronage and when they ran out of money, began the expedient of deficit borrowing. They brought many elected representatives within their group because the elected representative wanted his share of the disposition of Federal funds.

Nevertheless, while we were disturbed by the beginning of unbridled spending and unbalanced budgets, business men were still operating under a free economy with the right to invent, engineer, develop and sell their products in open markets, under free competition.

An industry that had, or would provide employment and render a reasonable service to the community and its consuming trade, was encouraged to grow and expand. The acquisition of a new industry was a matter of local rejoicing, in any community so favored, and the occasion for a very pardonable strut upon the part of the president of the Chamber of Commerce!

In fact, it was this freedom of enterprise that brought about the astonishing commercial development of both of our countries.

So much now, you hear the words, "free enterprise", and some would make it appear to be a sign of selfishness where, actually, it is a symbol of all progress. Simply stated, it merely means, the right of free men to *show enterprise!* What's wrong with that?

It's a little puzzling to me today to meet those that advance the idea that no successful business was done in the United States or Canada—no real progress made prior to 1933 and that everything which was done in the way of business organization and expansion was grievously wrong until the political quack-doctors tried to cure the patient of a temporary fainting spell back in 1932.

They seemed to forget that from 1840 to 1930 (a brief span of 90 years only in the life of a nation, and the same period would apply here in Canada), before any of this group of political experimenters and social security Cradle-to-the-Grave, "Womb-to-Tomb" advocates had ever been heard of in public life—before most of them were born—before it was the fashion to try to cure every situation with a federal appropriation—that the axe, the plow, the pioneer and the miner changed this whole country—Pittsburgh to California in the United States; Toronto to Edmonton and Vancouver in Canada—from prairie grass, buffalo sod, desert and forest, into the greatest food and mineral producing area in the world; that all of our skyscrapers had been reared, our cities built, our industries developed, our railroads laid, our minerals opened, our standard of living established and all of the wealth existing in the United States, and, in Canada, too, produced prior to 1932. Certainly no wealth has been created since.

And, it so happens, that the 10-year period following the beginning of our New Deal was the only decade in the history of America where less wealth was produced than in the preceding 10 years—where we consumed more than we produced.

They talk as if our whole country was "without form and void, and that darkness moved upon the face of the earth", before our New Deal began the creation of its ideas of an economic Garden of Eden.

Let me remind you again, that when I say "New Deal", I do not mean the Democratic Party in my country. The New Deal is the American name for Fascism and, in fact, the most determined opponents of the New Deal in America are the old line leaders of our Southern Democratic Party.

They forget that no nations in the history of the world, accomplished so much industrially in so short a space of time, as in the United States and Canada and yet, none of it was done by so-called "national planning".

Our nations grew to greatness in a time where government constituted a policing agency alone and considered itself a friendly and impartial umpire in the Game of Business, realizing that every bit of employment provided and all progress made was the result of private enterprise and individual initiative.

The leaders in both of our political parties expounded the fact laid down by Thomas Jefferson, a great liberal and founder of our Democratic party, that the best government was that which governed least and that the greatest prosperity was attained through as little government in busines as possible and as much *business* in government, as a democracy could provide.

I said to you once before and, for the benefit of those here today who were not at the May 13 meeting of The Empire Club, that every time I go into a war plant today and I see the facilities and the machinery set-up, placed at the disposition of our government, without regard to profit, paying back the profit in taxes where it's made and, many times, with serious losses, I can not help but think of those who have attempted to destroy this private enterprise and this industry, simply because it had become big, forgetting that business became big in both of our countries because it deserved to be—that there's no militant evil in bigness, in growth, in efficiency, in engineering a good product, in making it well so that everyone wants it, and that only because business became big, did we have better and better automobiles, and electric refrigerators, and heating equipment, and not at higher and higher—because they were better, but at *lower* and *lower prices*!

That's the entire history of all American and Canadian Industry—a constantly *improved* product and service, at a constantly *reduced* price. How I wish those politicians—some of those for whom we voted, but more important, the slippery ones behind the scenes for whom we did not vote—who have shown so little consideration for the small business man, have let him go out of business with no sympathy and no help—(no farmer lost his farm because of the war—no laboring man his job—but many small business men have lost their businesses) and those who have attempted to rip big business apart—would just humbly and thankfully and, with their hats in their hands, follow the example that business has set for them and give us BETTER AND BETTER GOVERNMENT AT LOWER AND LOWER COST!

Wouldn't that be something? And now only, it's *bigness* has saved us from slavery. Where would we have been without the Du Ponts, the automobile factories, and the great steel mills?

The next time that anybody in my hearing ever again criticizes private industry because it became big and scoffs at its success, or impugns the over-all honesty, good sportsmanship, and true willingness to sacrifice of the American and Canadian Buisness Men—and part of my purpose over our countries, as I said before, is to put a ramrod up the backs of, a sparkle in the eye, and a little *fight* in the heart of business men who have been entirely too meek in speaking up for themselves—the next time this criticism occurs, I'm just going to ask the half-wit who propounds the question, who it was that America and Canada turned to in their hour of danger and distress!

Was it to the crack-pots, the social planners, the dreamers, the professors who would have Government take over our war plants in competition with private business, and operate with a false set of books, charging losses to the taxpayer? What it to the something-for-nothing boys? Or was it to Canadian and American factories, built and managed under our system of private enterprices!

The record of Industry is there for all to read—the providers of comfort and plenty and jobs and happiness in peace-time—and our country's salvation in war.

And yet in spite of that, the roots of our national government, under the excuse of pre-war and war-time emergencies, have sunk deep, with politicians in every speech and bill seeking new and, heretofore, untapped sources of revenue, with plans only for increasing taxes and increasing debt and, here again, I do not refer to necessary war-time expenses or even unavoidable war-time waste. I'm talking about wasteful, non-military expenses—the perpetration of fanciful, totalitarian, paternalistic schemes under the high-sounding name of "social reform"; plans for obtaining more money for the great national "grab-bag", with more jobs required to administer all of the agencies set up and never a word about the inevitable day when we must stop spending more than we take in—when budgets must not only be balanced, but there must be surpluses each year by which we can meet the maturity of war bonds, without creating still more government dollars.

It's very difficult today, in discussing business, to escape the accusation of making a political speech because there is no phase of business that could be analyzed that would not come into direct and immediate conflict with some phase of governmental activity.

I therefore disclaim political intention. I'm just a business man, running for no office and little interested in parties. I'm just a "voice crying aloud in the wilderness" on behalf of Business, that has been unwilling to speak up for itself—all business, both large and small.

I'm resisting the vice-like pressure of labor leaders on one hand, who are unwilling to accept equal responsibility for their acts, with Capital and Management—who say that if any laws are passed, placing the same restraints upon Labor union organizations that long since have been placed on business organizations, they will not obey those laws, thus setting up an incipient anarchy and yet, insist that if a law be passed favoring Labor, the employer live up to it to the "last pound of flesh"—the racketeering type of labor leader who, during this war, has clearly made the union more important than his country; those, on one hand, and politicians on the other, who have found that the best way to perpetuate themselves in office is to squander the nation's resources with a lavish hand, by building pipe lines from the Treasury to huge blocs of voters.

I'm not ashamed to defend "Big Business". I am proud of the big business of America and Canada and the men who developed them and the men who manage them. Your body is one body, but it's made up of countless cells. That's the way it is with Big Business. Our big industries are owned by little people by thousands upon thousands of small, common stockholders. The American Telephone & Telegraph Company, which has played such a large part in the building of America, has over 600,000 stockholders, to 200,000 employees.

Our 110 largest corporations are owned by nearly 5,000,000 stockholders and no one individual owns more than 1% of the total stock, with the exception of Henry Ford. Therefore, this obnoxious, greedy "Baron of Industry", that is depicted as an evil exploiter of employees and of labor, exists only in cartoons or in the minds and spouting mouths of radicals and social theorists. And then who is to say just when a business becomes "big business"? Everything in the world is relative. If you quarrel with something because it is good or just because it is big, again you come into pretty direct conflict with the Creator because the Universe is quite a place!

I was talking to the Rotary Club of New York City the other day. In the audience I saw our Mr. J. C. Penney, the head of a great chain of dry goods and clothing stores, partially own by the company, partially owned by the managers who helped to create the stores, an organization that has done an excellent job in bringing good quality, low-priced clothing to people in lower income brackets. I asked that audience just when it was that the J. C. Penney Company became big business—at exactly what point in their experience did Mr. Penny step over an invisible line and become the object of hatred and punishment? Was it when he had his second store, his hundredth store, or his thousandth store? Just when?

When did the Ford Motor Company become "big business"? Remember Mr. Ford now tinkering in a little one-room machine shop, and courageously fighting the Selden patents so that everyone could make motors. Well, was it when the Ford Company made their thousandth car, their millionth car, or their 25th millionth car, setting an example for low-cost transportation, and followed quickly and with equal skill by General Motors, and then by Chrysler? Just when did the Ford Motor Company become "big business"?

When did your great Eatons and Simpsons companies in the field of retail merchandising here in Canada become "big business"? Just at what point in their expansion? And should they have stopped back along the line and thus give employment to fewer people?

Well I will give you a new conception I think. I will tell you when these firms became "big business". They became "big business" when Mr. Penney and Mr. Ford and Mr. Eaton and Mr. Simpson were born.

You develop big men, men of capacity and vision and daring, men who are willing to risk, men who can both dream and work, then you will have big industry and a big country and a high standard of living.

If you want to destroy "big business" then quit breeding big men. You will then have little industry, but you will also have a little and defenceless country, the standard of living of a Mexican paeon, and we would be the helpless Denmarks and Polands of the world.

As I have said, the record of Big Business stands for itself, and, while it has had its selfish and evil members and occasional lapses from virtue because, after all, business men are fallible human beings, on the whole, the record it has made in the very standard of living we see about us has been good and constructive and commendable.

I do witness with grave apprehension however, the tremendously increased organization of Labor on one hand, and on the other, the increased organization of Government, even before the war, with over a million people on our government payrolls, spread out in building after building, not only at our Capitol in Washington, but clear to Baltimore, 35 miles north—those buildings housing the greatest army of paid, unemployed, in the history of the world. You may have some of the same thing!

I cannot escape the feeling that it is now about time for business, and business men who pay the bills for all of these follies, to speak up without being accused of political prejudice.

One of these follies comes under the name of "Social Security", and here I may meet with some considerable measure of disagreement.

Nothing is wrong with insurance. Nothing is wrong with laying aside enough when you are young and have earning capacity, to take care of your older age, but when you adopt principles of regimentation, you, at the same time, give up the still more important principles of individual liberty and freedom and you can not expect to do what God Himself, can not do, to keep a man from paying the penalties of his own mistakes!

At a time when the taxpayers of America are grimly buckling down to meet a staggering $36,000,000,000 national budget that has been proposed for annual postwar federal expenses, including $10,000,000,000 for an international WPA Program, $8,000,000,000 for administration and, it hasn't been long since we thought our first billion dollar Congress was extravagant, in addition to this is suggested a mountainous addition of $15,000,000,000 a year for the "Cradle-to-the-Grave Project."

The fearful thing is that this figure would be only a starter and the bureaucracy created to administer such sums and such a complicated system, means jobholders in numbers that would constitute a balance of power in a national election and who would always vote, of course, to keep themselves in an easy job. Consumers, who produce nothing!

Past experience shows the cost of such projects do not stay with the original suggestions but double and treble.

I do not know what sums have been suggested for Canada, but I say to you, that this forced charge, on top of the care of our returned soldiers, hospitalization, interest on national debt, the gradual paying off of war bonds cashed, the maintaining of a larger Army and Navy, is synonymous with a revolution in America. Our taxes are now at a point where they come close to confiscation of business—and that is what many of these starry-eyed dreamers want and intend—and they have made individual incentive a dying thing.

It would siphon the live capital out of the fund of public wealth. There would be no venture—not another mine opened—not another oil well drilled—and it would set up national socialism with all of its collectivist implications. It would do as good a job of destroying America as Hitler, himself, could have done, without Hitler's brutality.

It would centralize power in the Federal Government and take it away from states and provinces and the people—sanction further deficit spending—destroy individual initiative—make accumulation of venture capital impossible—retard the financing of the so-called business and engineering visionaries of today that would become the Henry Fords of tomorrow—force all industrial research, medicine too, into government and hence into politics—establish a hybrid phenomenon which they herald as a "mixed corporation" in which joint ownership and management would be "shared" between government and the investor but which is a "stop gap" only, to 100% government ownership—destroy the family unit by discouraging thrift and savings for old age—destroy the responsibility of parents to their children and the obligation of children to their parents.

This sort of legislation is, in fact, a charter for revolution. I hope you do not contemplate it here!

If the bureaucrats and the spenders who bathe in red ink, would keep their hands off—give a blood transfusion to Business instead of draining from it until business becomes anaemic and helpless—we will have upwards of 10,000,000 upstanding young men, (your proportion in Canada would be about the same) trained to work, taught to sacrifice, disciplined for service—coming back home to rebuild the Canada and America they have fought to save. They should be Canada's and America's salvation.

True, they will want security but the good old-fashioned kind of worthwhile security—the Security of Opportunity. They certainly will not want the paternalistic type of security found in Continental Europe, based upon a despotic system, against which they are fighting on the far flung battle fields of the world. It would be the supreme tragedy of our nation's history if these young men were spoiled by a system of "Cradle-to-the-Grave" benefits, all their fine courage and high ideals slowly softened, smothered and finally extinguished, by entering into a Lazy Man's Paradise.

And there is a point. In all of our planning, in all of the speeches of our leaders who talk about Freedom from Want, and Freedom from Fear, and A Job for Everyone, I see no recognition of the human, common-sense condition that many people do not *want* a job and would not work if they had one, or, if they had one, do enough to earn the money they receive! Why is it that no one recognizes that there is a lot of sheer, unadulterated laziness and shiftlessness and that those qualities should meet their just punishment and not be supported by a government reward, for "those who toil not, neither do they spin", yet *are* supported in idleness.

In all of our talk about Freedom, let us be sure that we are not paying lip service to that word—that we have *real* Freedom—Freedom to Worship, of course—Freedom of Speech, freedom of the press and radio—Free Labor, and this means, the right of a man to join *any* union he chooses, to *quit* any union when he pleases, and to join *none* at all and still have the right to work and support his family.

It means free enterprise—the right of a man to dare—do—to risk—to invest, with rewards commensurate with his risks and his ability, and his industry.

Labor unions assail monopolies in business and, rightly so. It is competition we want—not monopolies; lower prices—not manipulated and controlled prices. Every intelligent man knows the greatest national prosperity comes with the highest possible wages and the lowest possible prices. That being the case, labor must also recognize that "what is sauce for the goose" is also "sauce for the gander" and that a monopoly in jobs is even more evil because people could do without any particular brand of merchandise if they felt the prices were unfair and thus rebuke the maker, but we can not do without jobs.

And, to say that a man must be a Baptist, or a Presbyterian, or a Methodist, or a Christian Scientist, or a member of the Church of England, or an Episcopalian, or a Mason, or a Knight of Columbus, or belong to the American Federation of Labor or the C.I.O., or the Epworth League—that he must belong to any organization before he can have a job and support his family is an announcement of a monopoly in one of the most precious things in a man's life—*his right to work!*

Labor insists upon controls, and regulations, and penalties for Business and, we accept them. Now that labor unions have, themselves, become truly "big business", they must accept the same restraints and submit to the same penalties for violation.

Please do not misunderstand me—any one arguing against the right of labor for organization and collective bargaining, to make the best possible deal for itself and to correct abuses in some industries where the management is still selfish and unenlightened, is a fool.

But equally, a man who argues that business men have no right to organize for their own interests and present them forcefully and factually to their employees and to the public, is unfair.

The man who does not accord to the great rank and file of labor, the respect and dignity they have earned, merely discloses his own stupidity.

I'm not talking about laboring men, or, Labor's right to protect itself. I *am* talking about labor agitators who feed and fatten and thrive on the deliberate creation of discord and discontent and strife—who live only by provoking disputes, where no reason for dispute exists—and their chief "high priest", Mr. John L. Lewis, who denied coal to our steel mills because portal-to-portal pay was more important than the lives of our sons.

Of course, we hear so much propaganda about man's "God given right to strike", and so little these days about his "right to work". I can not help but look back upon those tragic years of depression when men sought work to no avail—when long lines formed in front of every industrial establishment—when, to provide jobs was the curt demand of our Administration on every business man and firm—a demand that every business tried to meet, not out of profits because there were nothing but losses in those days, but out of accumulated surpluses that wasteful governments would now take away in taxation so that we never again could live through another depression or be kind and merciful in the retention of our employees; when the unasked question in the anxious eyes of thousands of wives when their husbands came home at night was, "Did you get the job?"

Therefore, it seems to me, to be no more than fitting that some business speaker should have the courage to talk about an even greater right than the right to strike and, that is—*Man's truly God-given right to work!*

And there we are. We see business, and business men, caught between the upper and the nether millstone—between Government on the top, seeking to perpetuate a bunch of wild-eyed spenders and replenish its treasury, by constantly increasing raids on the pockets of business men who are expected to meet their own losses, when losses come—and the nether millstone of Labor minorities who deal neither in truth or in fairness, under the leadership of Communistic-minded agitators, and out and out racketeers, seeking personal power, making trouble to prove that their services are needed to settle the trouble—exacting from the same business, oppressed from above by Government, a tribute of shorter hours and higher wages that might not be allowed or paid and, still keep the retail price of merchandise down to a point where it will sell to the consumer and thus, in turn, provide continuous employment for labor, and things for our needs—Business ground between *two* stones!

It may be that in their own protection, business men may, themselves, one day form a union of all those who have money invested in trade—not to attack—merely to defend.

Since you pay, you have a right to represent yourselves. You have a right to insist upon a return to economy and common sense and sanity in government.

Our prosperity, of course, is like a three-legged stool —one leg, Agriculture; one leg, Labor; one leg, Business. All three should be strong—fair prices for Agriculture, the highest possible wage rates for Labor but without job monopolies but, equally important, a reasonable incentive for Business and a return for its labor and its investment.

Let us correct these so-called economists who deal in fantastic billions and to whom money merely means a printing press and paper. They follow the pattern, always, of spending—of providing jobs to administer their spending—of doing it under sweet sounding names and mottoes —but they forget, when they spend money, they are spending the equivalent of labor, and sweat, and production, and that when you take from the productive man that which he earns and creates, and arbitrarily give to the man who will not produce, isn't high-minded liberalism. It isn't creating a "more abundant life" but it will create a nation of loafers who feel that their government and the world owes them a living, under a mistaken application of the "Freedom from Want" theory and it is, in fact, just plain, ordinary theft, legally perpetrated.

The business man pays for it. You pay for it, not only out of all you earn in the future, but in a slow consumption of everything you have accumlated in the past and one of these days, you may even refuse to pay for it any longer. These fellows do not seem to understand that wealth is only in production—in things grown and made for our happiness and comfort and health—not in an arbitrary division of money, with money, itself, carrying a fluctuating value at whim of an executive individual, and money cheapened by creating more debt and printing more of it.

I was in Washington a short time ago and took my new daughter-in-law to visit the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. She clutched my arm and gave an ecstatic squeal, as she saw an endless stream of $1 bills—$10 bills—$100 bills—coming of the presses. It is a wonderful feeling. The magic of it takes you in its grip.

As I watched it, I thought, "This sweet young girl thinks that money is wealth. Can she eat it? Can she sleep in it? Can she ride in it? Can it bring her the news of the world or, by swallowing some of it, can she cure a disease? It's still paper. It's good only for what it represents."

Samuel Pettingill, a lifetime Democrat in the States, asks, "Can the Government print a cow? Can the Government print a steak? Can the Government print a quart of milk or a loaf of bread or a ton of coal or a house to live in?"

No, you can't eat money, but you can't escape from the obligation it imposes upon us when you print it, and when you create debt and spend more money than you take in, the result is a deficit and—more printing.

What would you think of a parent who contracted a personal debt and then said to his creditors, "You can collect payment on that from the sweat of my children. I *just create* the debt and must hurry now to creat more, but I, myself, am not going to do any worrying!"

"After all, we're all members of the human race—we're all Canadians or Americans and we just owe it to ourselves."

What's the difference between that, and the things we have been doing for the past ten years? We've been piling debt upon debt and propose to add more to it. We've been recklessly brushing aside the Judgment Day—the inevitable day of payment, with the self-conscious thought that *some* day these magical printing presses would get us out of trouble!

We've been building up to a catastrophe and unless we face it soon, reverse our direction and spend less than we take in—spend only for the most necessary government functions—this catastrophe will be liquidated only by the sweat and sorrow and accusation of our children and grandchildren.

A man who wastes his father's inheritance—a drone who lives on the honey of the worker bee—a man who does not pull his own weight in the boat—those who vote us into earning their living for them—or a nation which charges a fictitious prosperity "on the cuff" are all of the same class.

We have no right to ask unborn generations to pay bills for things we use up now, and whenever a man consumes without, in some way, creating an equal value, he is a parasite and, if greatly multiplied, would completely eat up the national wealth we have spent so many hard years in accumulating.

For ten years now, we have heard it said that the Government can create purchasing power by borrowing against the future. Well, so you can—for a short time. You can borrow from your bank and have a great splurge on the money for as long as it lasts and, as long as people feel pretty sure that their neighbors will sell them a cow in return for these pieces of green paper rolling off the press, but, if they begin to suspect that the presses are running overtime in an effort to overtake the debt, the paper will not purchase a cow and we'll find out for sure then, that the Government can't print, either the cow, or the milk she produces.

We can not have a free democracy unless the possessor of money can exchange it for anything whatever that suits his fancy. The free exchange of money, for any commodity, is the heart of a free system but when you create fictitious wealth which has no backing in production and is only a mortgage upon the future, then you bankrupt your country and dictators are always the receivers of bankrupt governments."

And so ends the comment of Congressman Pettingill, one of our leading Democrats. I told you parties were split down the middle.

What is my conclusion after these, up to now, pure observations? It is simple. Let us say to Labor—"We admire you. We respect you. We wish you well and will pay you high, but remember, you are only one of the three legs of our Stool."

We say to the Farmer—"You feed us and without you we would starve. You are entitled to low cost distribution—to the best of markets—and to a standard of living equal to that of anyone."

For Business—"Full speed ahead! Invent! Engineer! Develop! Grow! Expand! Give us more and better goods at lower prices"

One psychological phase of business that worries me is that just before the war, I was beginning to hear so frequently one sentense, "Well, Carney, there isn't any fun in business any longer."

There isn't any fun in business! This is the discouraged cry of a business man who reaches a point where he realizes there is no longer any incentive for improvement, for development, for expansion, or investment of capital —no triumph to be derived from successful and intelligently managed enterprises, and no reward for effort, worry, and the risk and investment of capital, and certainly no protection against losses when losses come.

Let me tell you when you take the "fun out of business", the keen edge of rivalry in competition, the happiness and satisfaction that a business man derives from a successful creative enterprise, and by waste and spending and taxation, you suck from that business virtually all the business can produce, you have then destroyed that living breath, stopped its beating heart—extinguished the very flame and force of life and trade itself.

The politician and labor agitator impugn the motives and honesty of the business man!

When it comes to honor, I would rather trust to the intelligence and fairness, generosity and unselfishness of the business man and his ability to deal fairly with his employees, than I would to any of these modern crackpot politicians who, while calling the business man hard names, demand the business man's cash.

Our Harry Hopkins for instance! What an example! What did he ever create? He has never raised a crop or made a product or produced anything that anyone else could consume. He came out of a Social Settlement licking stamps on envelopes. He has never risked or invested. What do the other fellow's earnings and savings mean to him? Mr. Hopkins has fuzzy ideas about redistributing the wealth of the nation. He doesn't care whether an unemployed man wants or can obtain a job or not. Hopkins still wants the government to support him. Evidently Mr. Hopkins does not hold with St. Paul, who wrote in his second letter to the Thessalonians, "If any would not work, neither should he eat."

Mr. Hopkins thinks it would be cruel to compel the jobless to take work that might not just exactly suit the man on relief. St. Paul was of sterner material. He added these pointed words, and I think he must have been looking down through the centuries to the day in which we live—"For we hear that there are some which walk among you, disorderly, working not at all, but are busybodies. Now them that are such, we command and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with *quietness* they work, and eat their own bread."

We can solve our postwar problems and provide jobs for those who return and continue the progress of the past century in only one possible way—by hard work, reward for enterprise, respect and applause for those who succeed, and common sense. That's uninteresting. That's unromantic. It's hard, if not impossible, to get elected to office on that kind of a program, but it's the only road and all of the other roads you have seen so luridly advertised by the crack-pots of the day, and that the experimenters have bid us trod—those that plow under crops and kill little pigs and calves so as to bring about artificial food shortages—those who believed that wealth was money and money was wealth—are just detours and if you follow them, you will surely lose the democracy and the liberty our sons have fought to defend.

I hold in my hand a book. It is the established guide for human living. It forms the basis for all law and human conduct. It is a business book to which business men all too seldom turn for business counsel.

I read just a line of the 19th verse of the third chapter of Genesis—one line that puts to utter rout all of the crack-pots and the social security soothsayers and the exponents of the folded hand, who would have you believe that man can live without contributing, himself, toward the support of that life.

LISTEN! I wish those in our own Government, who created our debt and, while warning us that war was coming, failed to prepare for war, and those who have been more interested in social reform and socialism, than in winning the war during this conflict, would listen, because in none of their philosophizing and in no fireside talk, does it seem they have heard of this one great law I read to you!

"By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread until thou return to the ground"!

It doesn't say by the sweat of somebody else's brow, or by the sweat of the taxpayer's brow. It doesn't even say, "By the sweat of your own brow until you're 60 years of age". It just says, "By the sweat of thy brow until you return unto the ground"!

That's law! That's Nature's law! That's God's law! It's immutable! And what makes anyone think they can change it?

You are far safer to adherence to that, perhaps stern law of Nature and of God, than in the idea that has been so widely broadcast and achieved millions of supporters, that no matter how much a man may have drunk up and gambled away the proceeds of his earning years; no matter how lazy and shiftless and incompetent and unproductive he may have been; no matter how unwilling, as a young man, to study and fit himself toward the end of a successful business or professional career, that when he is 60 or 65 years of age a great national Santa Claus, out of an enormous grab bag filled with the earnings of those who have sacrificed and labored and saved, will give their sustenance to the man who has wasted his opportunities.

We are far safer in that law of work than the heresy that is being preached today to younger minds—to work as little as possible, do it as poorly and, at the same time, black-jack the employer for all that can be obtained, with no regard for the permanent life and success of the business—the false preachment that those who have succeeded and have obtained an honoured place in the community have done so at the expense of the failure—and to enforce demands by mob organization, by sit-down strikes and by riot and murder—all of which is contrary to the sterling virtues of industry that we learned at our mother's knee and from our fathers in the woodshed and, the application of which formed the basis for growth and development of our two countries.

You can not substitute nostrums for common sense. You can not support the lazy portion of humanity at the expense of those who are willing to work. You cannot give the incapable and the unproductive equal rewards, with those of ability and industry. You can not take the life blood out of business until it throws up its hands in surrender, loses its incentive, and says, "There isn't any fun in it any longer!"

You can not let men like our John Lewis intimidate and brow-beat their way to a result which, if fair and just, could be obtained by orderly processes, pass one-sided laws that bind and gag the employer and give Labor, only, the right to speak and then administer that law, unfairly and with prejudice. You can not permit the devastating effect of doing everything for people—Government supporting people, instead of people supporting Government, thus robbing them of their character, their mental and moral fibre developed through the overcoming of obstacles and difficulties and through occasional defeat; nor under the great misnomer of being liberalists, can we substitute fanciful ideas and deny, in the financial conduct of our government, every principle of sound business. You can not do these things, gentlemen, and retain the national vigor that made our countries great.

If Labor is to be organized under intelligent and reasonable leadership, with responsibilities and penalties equal to their privileges and amenable to the same laws that govern employer and capital—well and good. Fair minded men will applaud it.

But if we are asked to substitute socialism for enterprise, equal rewards for unequal abilities and production; if the government is to place millions of people on its payrolls to guide and direct our every movement; to snoop into our affairs and to "pick the grapes when they turn purple", forgetting the years when no grapes grow; if we are to face organized attack upon the pocketbooks of Business, by those who are jealous because they have never been able to fill their own, then let business men, themselves, get up "on their hind legs", with a roar that will shake this country—organize a business man's union, if need be, and say to the many spenders and wasters, "Thus far have you gone toward bankruptcy of this nation and destruction of our form of government—no *further* shalt thou go!"

I'm not concerned in this selfishly, gentlemen, because most of us will be in our graves when the full effect of the reaping of the seed that has been sown, will bring about its crop and our grandchildren will be damning our cowardice and our stupidity.

But I would say we should elect some business men congressmen and business men senators in my country, and in Canada, some business men to Parliament and for once in our lives, perhaps a business man Premier or President, one who understands the worries, and problems, and the cares of business that provides all jobs for labor and markets for the farmer—who has made a dollar and consequently knows and understands its value, and I don't care to what party he belongs—so that we can at least check the forces of waste, the debauchery of those who have been taught they need never work, and the ideas that will play such havoc with our children.

It's our country and not my firm's profit and loss sheet that I think about today, and I echo, with a fervent

"Amen", the utterance of a famous statesman of another day, "Who saves his country, saves all things and all things saved do bless him, but he who lets his country die, lets all things die and all things dying curse him!"

And so, while others may sing to you a siren song and extol the delights and benefits of leisure, let me recommend that greatest of forces, outside of religion, in all civilization that speaks of itself in these words:

> "I am the foundation of all prosperity. I am the fount from which all blessings flow. Everything that is of value in this world springs from me. I am the salt that gives life its savor.
>
> "I am the sole support of the poor, and the rich who think they can do without me, live futile lives and fill premature graves.
>
> "I have made America and Canada. I have built their matchless industries, laid their incomparable railroads, opened their minerals, reared their skyscrapers, created their cities, and established a standard of living the envy of every country in the world, and has made of us, the hope and the lodestone of every immigrant that has set foot upon our shores.
>
> "I am the friend of every worthy youth. If he makes my acquaintance when he is young and keeps me by his side throughout his life, I can do more for him than the richest parent.
>
> "I keep the bodies clean and fit, minds alert and when I am neglected, both minds and bodies grow fat and sluggish.
>
> "I am the parent even of Genius, itself.
>
> "I am represented in every paper that flies from the press, in every loaf that springs from the oven, in every train that crosses the continent, and in every ship that steams the ocean.
>
> "Fools hate me, wise men love me. The man who keeps his hand in mine throughout his life, never dies —because that which he has created with my help

> lives on after he is gone. The man who shirks me and scorns my aid and looks on me as something to abhor, never lives—never *really* lives, even though he may continue to breathe.
>
> "Who am I? What am I? I AM WORK!"

Lose this day loitering—'twill be the same story tomorrow—and the next more dilatory. Then indecision brings its own delays and days are lost lamenting over days that have been lost.

Are you in earnest? Seize this very minute! What you can do or dream you can, begin it—Work has genius, power and magic in it.

I am honored by your invitation today. I'm flattered by your attention. I make no claim to profundity but I do hope that the forces of common sense in our countries may be given a voice, that business men may become organized themselves, in their thinking, and determined and resolute in their action so that we may ensure to our children and our children's children, the same glorious freedom and the opportunity that we have, ourselves, enjoyed.

"SOME ASPECTS OF THE ROYAL AIR FORCE TRANSPORT COMMAND"

An Address By

AIR VICE-MARSHAL MARIX, C.B., D.S.O.

Chairman: The President, Mr. W. Eason Humphreys

Thursday, November 4, 1943

Mr. Humphreys: It is not long ago since we referred to the Atlantic Ocean as "The Pond". By so doing, we tried perhaps, to ease our minds about distance between friends or to persuade ourselves that the possibility of seasickness would be limited. Today there is an air bridge across the Atlantic Ocean by means of which it is possible, I believe, to eat one dinner in Britain and the next on this side.

The control of this air bridge over the Atlantic was, until recently, known as "Ferry Command". Now it is officially known as Transport Command.

We may not enquire too deeply into the working of this air bridge which has captured our imagination but The Empire Club has invited Air Vice-Marshal Marix to tell us as much as he can.

Air Vice-Marshal Marix joined the Naval Wing of the Royal Flying Corps back in 1912. In a few months he acquired the Royal Aero Club pilot's certificate.

Just prior to World War I our guest was appointed Flight Lieutenant, R.N. In the newly formed Royal Naval Air Service and during that war he formed the first All-Canadian Squadron of the R.N.A.S. After World War I Air Vice-Marshal Marix became a member of the Aeronautical Commission of Control in Germany, later serving in the Air Ministry and also at Malta.

When this war came, our guest found himself in command of No. 16 Group Coastal Command and later Deputy Chief of Staff at Coastal Command Headquarters, where he remained until proceeding to Canada last year to be Air Officer in Charge of Administration, Royal Air Force Ferry Command.

Air Chief Marshal Sir Frederic Bowhill, who honoured us with a visit some time ago, became Commander in Chief of Transport Command. It was then that our guest assumed command at Dorval in Quebec, now officially known as No. 45 Group of Transport Command.

Gentlemen, I have pleasure in introducing this distinguished officer of the Royal Air Force. Decorated in the last war with D.S.O., Order of the Crown of Belgium, Belgian Croix de Guerre and twice mentioned in despatches. In this war he has been decorated with the C.B. and again mentioned in despatches. Gentlemen: Air Vice-Marshal R. L. G. Marix, C.B., D.S.O., who will now address you on "Some Aspects of the Royal Air Force Transport Command."

AIR VICE-MARSHAL MARIX: Although the R.A.F. Transport Command is new compared to the older Commands of the R.A.F., such as the Bomber, Fighter and Coastal, it and its predecessor, the R.A.F. Ferry Command, already have quite a history packed into a few years and they have undergone a great development since Transatlantic ferrying was initiated in 1940, and so a brief historical resume of how it all began may be of interest to you.

As you know, in the early days of the war, whilst the Unted States was neutral, American built aircraft could not be flown into Canada and had to be hauled across the border on their wheels. It is possible that many of you saw the newsreel in the movies showing the aircraft being brought into Canada this way.

On the arrival of these aircraft on Canadian territory it was necessary to have an organization capable of handling them, and the Canadian Pacific Railway Air Services offered to undertake this duty. This offer was gratefully accepted by the United Kingdom Government and the Canadian Government promised full assistance in every possible way. An agreement between His Majesty the King for the United Kingdom on one part, and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company on the other part, was signed on August 16th, 1940—truly an historic document even for that great company. At the time Sir Edward Beatty was Chairman and President of the C.P.R.

A flow of pilots came from Canada and the United States and in addition, pilots came from Australia and New Zealand and from the Free French and Dutch, with one or two from other Allied Nations. Also, the Coast Command of the R.A.F. loaned some Hudson and Catalina crews.

One great difficulty was that of recruiting radio operators owing to the fact that wireless telegraphy is very little used in the commercial air services over here, which operate by means of the radio ranges, and radio telephony when within range of the control towers of the airfields. This difficulty was overcome by the help of the Canadian Marconi Company, and especially the Radio Division of the Department of Transport who made available, experienced radio operators of Canadian nationality who came in ever-increasing numbers from radio posts scattered throughout Canada. At that time, of course, we could not employ American radio operators as many of the messages had to be transmitted in cypher which only British personnel were allowed to handle since the Americans belonged to a neutral country.

A headquarters was established in the C.P.R. Windsor Station and Railways Exchange Building in Montreal, and St. Hubert was the airfield used by courtesy of the R.C.A.F.

The first Transatlantic bomber deliveries took place on November 11th, 1940, when seven Hudsons took off from Newfoundland under the direction of Captain Bennett and successfully completed the flight to Scotland in less than ten hours. This at the time was a remarkable achievement because the flying of the North Atlantic, especially in winter, was hardly considered a practical proposition, except in very favourable circumstances; but from that day Atlantic crossings have become a matter of routine.

In February of 1941, Captain "Punch" Dickins of the Canadian Pacific Air Services came into the picture and plans were made for new airports, additional living quarters, stores and hangars, etc. In this the Minister for Air —Major Powers—offered complete co-operation.

By March 1941 the international political and military situation made it important that this organization should become a department of the British Government and that same month it came under the Ministry of Aircraft Production with the name of ATFERO and Mr. Morris Wilson, President of the Royal Bank of Canada, became the head and Mr. Harold Long assumed executive control. The Transatlantic ferrying was handled by this organization until July 1941.

At this point I should like to say what a great debt of gratitude we owe to the Canadian Pacific Air Services and ATFERO, the executive personnel of which was almost entirely Canadian. They built wisely and well and one has only to look at the buildings at Dorval and in Newfoundland to realize the forethought, energy and determination of these men. Their work is something Canada may justly be proud of.

In June 1941 the President of the United States informed the British Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, that he was prepared to help us by flying all the aircraft destined for Great Britain from the factories on the west coast of the United States, to Montreal or to any other airport in Canada, by Army pilots, and so release the American civilian pilots to help us fly the Atlantic, which again would release many of our Service pilots who were doing this work, for operational duties in other R.A.F. Commands. The President would only do this however, on the distinct understanding that the aircraft were handed over to a Service Command and not to a civil organization. It was, therefore, on July 20th, 1941, that ATFERO ceased to exist and the R.A.F. Ferry Command was formed in Montreal under the command of Air Chief Marshal Sir Frederick Bowhill.

This Command underwent continual expansion to meet increased deliveries from the United States and continued as such until April, 1943. By that time the war situation had become such that not only had aircraft to be ferried across the North and South Atlantics, but also from the United Kingdom and elsewhere to other parts of the world. Consequently it was decided to create a R.A.F. Transport Command, to abolish the R.A.F. Ferry Command and rename it No. 45 (Atlantic Transport) Group, which would form part of the newly created Transport Command. As the formation of this Transport Command was a big step forward, I do not think I can do better than read out a simple memorandum of explanation which was issued by a spokesman of the Air Ministry. This reads as follows:

"1. The Government of the day has always realized that that most important subject, namely, Air Transport, was not only a problem of peace but an urgent requirement in war.

"2. The enemy has proved in a no uncertain manner, the great value of air transport in this war, lessons of Norway, Greece, etc., are before our eyes and it has been asked by some people, why we have not done the same.

"3. The reason was this, we started the war with a numerical inferiority of four to one, viz-a-viz Germany. We had, therefore, to concentrate all resources of our aircraft industry on producing combat aircraft and though we should have liked to, we could not afford to give any production to transport aircraft. We are now, however, owing to the great output of aircraft in the United Kingdom, able to produce some transport aircraft, and all those which we produce and all the transport aircraft which we obtain from our great Ally, the United States, will be used to meet urgent war requirements. With these new aircraft we shall be able to form new transport squadrons.

"4. As these new transport squadrons increase it will be apparent to everyone that an organization will be required to continue their operations throughout the world, otherwise there might be a waste of effort, a thing which must be avoided at all costs. The Government, therefore, decided to form an R.A.F. Transport Command.

"5. To have formed such a Command sooner would have been to put the cart before the horse. We were not short of commanders and staff but of transport aircraft. The Command will have many important duties to perform, such as:

(a) Bringing supply and organization into focus.
(b) Controlling the various transport squadrons at Home.
(d) All overseas ferrying and the re-inforcement and movement of squadrons to and between overseas theatres. The term air re-inforcement means the movement of operational aircraft and their crews to wherever required. Ferrying, the delivery of aircraft by ferry crews who return to the pool after delivery of aircraft.

"6. Now we come to the relations of the R.A.F. Transport Command and the British Overseas Airways Corporation. These have been laid down carefully by the Government of the day. The B.O.A.C. for many reasons of higher policy and again because their aircraft pass through neutral countries, will continue as a civil organization; also another important point which is sometimes overlooked—it must meet the essential communication needs of various civil administrations. As you are all well aware, we in the Service have had the closest relations with the B.O.A.C. and the requirements of this Corporation will be integrated with the Transport Command. The guiding principle will be that the Command and the Corporation will work in the closest collaboration, freely exchanging information and experience, helping each other to the best of their ability to carry out the respective tasks allotted to them.

"7. It is sometimes asked, what is the reason for not making the British Overseas Airways Corporation into a military machine for the duration of the war, surely that would be the best and simplest solution? At first sight it might appear to be so, but when we examine the facts closely, we find that such is not the case. You will remember that this Corporation was flying all over the British Empire and other countries before the war, many contracts, many commitments were entered into, both with our Dominions and with foreign countries, which do not lend themselves easily to the military machine, nor is it necessary that they should. All that is necessary and what we must ensure is, that all our efforts, both military and civilian as regards the air, are bent as all other efforts are, to the successful conclusion of the war. In the same way, for example, as the work of the Navy and the Merchant Service.

"8. May I conclude with again reminding everybody that it was only because we had to build combat aircraft so as to save the world, for the British Empire stood alone for many months, that we could not get ahead with transport aircraft. Nevertheless, we fully realized how important that class was."

Thus in April 1943 Air Chief Marshal Sir Frederick Bowhill became the Commander-in-Chief of this new Command and I took over the existing organization in Canada as Air Officer Commanding No. 45 Group.

In September last I flew over to Great Britain and visited the Transport Command headquarters. Their plans for future expansion and the opening of new routes are in active progress. The Command already handles all ferrying and re-inforcements for the R.A.F., except in India where these activities are controlled by the Indian Government.

However, you will be more interested in the work being done from Canada and I will therefore explain to you how this operates.

We have our Group Headquarters at the Montreal Airport, Dorval, where our hangars and buildings, etc., cover a large area. We have, for instance, 3 large 4-bay hangars and a 2-bay hangar and even then we often have to park our aircraft in the open. We also have a large administration block and various other buildings, which are necessary for the numerous ground and training duties which have to be carried out. The Group consists of two ferrying Wings—No. 112 North Atlantic Wing and No. 113 South Atlantic Wing. In addition there is a Training Wing which trains not only for ourselves but for the Command generally and there is a Squadron of Communication aircraft. No. 112 Wing is incorporated in our Headquarters at Montreal and handles all the aircraft which fly the North Atlantic, including those which go through Bermuda; whereas No. 113 Wing has its base headquarters in Nassau in the Bahamas Island and handles all aircraft which fly via the South Atlantic route into Africa.

Let us now look at what the Group Headquarters and the two Wing Headquarters are responsible for and how they do their work. The Group Headquarters consists of the following departments:

Those under the Senior Air Staff Officer, Air Commodore Powell, whom many of you probably know. He controls: All flying personnel, operations, Service flying training, Civilian flying training, Signals Department, Engineering Department, Traffic Department, and Meteorological Department.

Then there is the Staff Officer in charge of Administration, who has under him: Administration (both Service and civilian), Establishments, Civilian non-flying personnel, Claims and Insurance, Accounts Department, Construction Department, Equipment Department, Medical Department, Chaplaincy Service, Security Police Department, Fire-fighting Section, and Central Registry.

All these Departments, of course, have their own heads and we have five Group Captains on our establishment. The Staff Officer in charge of Administration is himself a Group Captain, also the Engineering, Accounts, Signals and Equipment Departments are commanded by one. There are also many senior civilian posts such as the

Director of Construction, the Chief Traffic Manager and the Manager of Civilian Personnel.

The North Atlantic Wing, for which a Wing Commander is responsible as the Air Staff Officer in charge of Operations, is really incorporated in the Group Headquarters but there is a separate organization at Nassau for the South Atlantic Wing, which is also commanded by a Wing Commander.

I cannot give you the exact strength of No. 45 Group because all establishments in wartime are secret, but you will appreciate its size when I mention that we employ about 2,000 Service and about 3,000 civilian personnel.

You will not want to be bothered with too much detail so I will tell you briefly what happens as far as the aircraft and flying are concerned, and what happens on the ground.

Now with regard to the aircraft, we today not only have the allocations from the American factories but also those being built in Canadian factories and which are destined for overseas, and the flow of Canadian-built Lancasters and Mosquitos is steadily increasing—a most welcome addition of these excellent aircraft to those being built in the United Kingdom.

Firstly, take the American aircraft, which of course form the great majority we have to handle. These are delivered to us by either the U.S. Air Transport Command or by the U.S. Navy, according to the type of aircraft. The Army aircraft are by far the most numerous. These types are delivered to Montreal if destined for the North Atlantic route, or to Nassau if destined for the Middle East or Far East. On arrival they are handed over to us by the U.S. Air Transport Command who have liaison officers with a staff appointed to us, and a complete check of the equipment of the aircraft is carried out—which is quite a big job in itself when one considers the number we handle. All aircraft then have to be checked by the Engineering Department where each one is flight-tested, has its compasses swung and the radio tested. It is then handed over to Operations and a crew is detailed and briefed. The aircraft is then ready for its Transatlantic flight.

The Flying Boats are handed over to us by the U.S. Navy at Elizabeth City, North Carolina, and they go through the same procedure except that we sometimes have to fit our own special equipment into them and they are then flown to either Bermuda or our seaplane base at Boucherville on the St. Lawrence River near Montreal. The aircraft which go to Bermuda are flown direct to Scotland and this sometimes involves a flight of about 25 hours. Those which come to Boucherville go to Newfoundland and then on to the United Kingdom. However, we can only operate the Boucherville base during the summer months because the St. Lawrence freezes over. There is one lake in Newfoundland which never freezes all over but even if we were to get our Flying Boats on to this lake for the northern passage, it would not be practicable because when a Flying Boat takes off it throws up a great deal of spray and this would freeze solid on the aircraft and load it down with ice, therefore in the winter all flying boats are ferried through Bermuda.

Canadian-built aircraft are collected by us direct from the factories and brought to Montreal where they go through the same procedure as the American aircraft.

The routes followed depend upon the type of aircraft, in other words, its range, and special tanks have to fitted to certain types in order that they can cross the Atlantic. These tanks, of course, are removed on arrival at the destination. The usual route, of course, is either to Newfoundland or Labrador and then straight over to the United Kingdom. Sometimes the aircraft are routed through Greenland and Iceland or direct from Labrador to Iceland. This depends upon the Meteorological conditions. By taking the northern route through Greenland it is often possible to avoid bad weather further south. When there are strong westerly winds we are able to route certain aircraft direct from Montreal to the United Kingdom, a distance of over 3,000 statute miles.

The route followed by the aircraft that leave Nassau is to Trinidad and then to certain places in South America and finally on to the Gold Coast in West Africa, where they are taken over by another Group in the Transport Command and delivered to their various destinations in North Africa, or through to India.

Now let us turn to the men who fly the aircraft and to those on the ground who make the flying possible.

First let us take the aircrews. The pilots are both Service and civilian. The Service pilots are drawn from the following four main sources:

First, the product of the Training Units which operate under the Commonwealth Air Training Plan. These pilots who may be Royal Air Force, Royal Canadian Air Force, Royal Australian Air Force, or Royal New Zealand Air Force, have a total of 250 flying hours of which 100 hours have been spent in Service types. They are then given further training by us for about three or four weeks, both to convert them to the type of aircraft they are going to take across the Atlantic and to teach them the technique of the Atlantic flying.

Second, we get a certain number of experienced pilots who have been on this side of the Atlantic for some duty or another and are posted back to the United Kingdom. These are also given special training by us, according to their experience.

Third, we get qualified R.A.F. instructors who have been teaching in the Service Training Schools in Canada and are returning to the United Kingdom. They also are made familiar with the technique of the Atlantic flight, and lastly, we have a number of Allied air force pilots—Poles, Norwegians and Czechs. The Poles and Norwegians are the more numerous and have their own units with us, commanded by their own officers. These pilots sometimes require a longer period of special training owing to the language difficulty but they have been of the greatest value to us.

The pilots turned out by the Commonwealth Air Training Plan have acquired a very high standard. At one time there were people who said it would be far too much to expect a pilot who had just left his Training Unit to fly the Atlantic. But they have been proven wrong and to me it continues to be a source of wonder that these young pilots successfully cross the Atlantic which involves an intricate system of control, when they have probably never been in an aeroplane until a year previously.

Then we have the civilian pilots, each of whom must have had a minimum of 750 hours solo flying and who must hold a commercial license and instrument rating. They also go through out training programme and very often go across as co-pilots before being allowed to go as captains. We have had and still have, a considerable number of these experienced pilots and they come from all parts of Canada and the United States. A few of them are from United Nations and, of course, a certain number come from the United Kingdom.

As regards Navigators, nearly all of these are service trainees from the various navigation schools in Canada and the United States. They also are given a special course of training by us for the transoceanic crossing.

The radio operators are in three categories. The majority are Service trainees from the Commonwealth Air Training Plan who are given extra training by us for from two to four weeks; then there are the United Nations trainees who need a slightly longer course; and lastly, civilians, but before we accept these they must already be qualified radio operators and we give them a special course.

Finally, we have the flight engineer to make up the crew. These are only carried in our four-engine deliveries and they have to be trained up to the required standard. We insist that these mechanics work on the maintenance of the aircraft in which they will be crossing the Atlantic and they have to work on the hangar floor and prove their ability before they are allowed to form part of a crew. This has proved to be a very successful plan.

Members of our civilian aircrews can always be recognized by the special R.A.F. Transport Command uniform they wear. This consists of a dark blue double-breasted suit, the jacket of which has silver buttons and wings; and they wear a silver badge on their caps. Their equivalent rank with the Service is shown by blue and black braid on their sleeves, rather similar to that of the R.A.F. and R.C.A.F.

Now comes the jig-saw puzzle of fitting in the crews with the flow of aircraft so as to make certain, as far as possible, that no time is lost either by the aircraft being detained on this side of the Atlantic because of lack of crews, or by crews kicking their heels waiting for aircraft to ferry. Then we must also remember that certain crews have only been trained to fly certain aircraft and therefore a very careful correlation between available aircraft and crews is necessary to ensure a steady flow. The weather also plays its part and can often upset the programme. Thus the return of crews from their destinations, about which I shall saw a few words later on, is in itself quite a problem.

Now as regards the ground personnel who make flying possible. First let us look at the Meteorological Service which is, as you know, a department of the Canadian Government. For the North Atlantic we have a central administration and forecast office at Dorval and primary forecast offices in Newfoundland, Labrador and Bermuda, also in Iceland and Scotland, and it is on the information provided by them that the route to be followed is decided. You will, therefore, realize what a responsible work the Meterological Service has and how the lives of the crews may depend on their forecasts. All should take off their hats to the Meteorological Department of Canada because the flight plans which are always prepared before an aircraft takes off are usually adhered to with almost uncanny exactitude. This means that the forecasts of the Meteorological data in the various zones into which the Atlantic is divided, have been accurate.

A few words about the *Signals Branch* which is responsible for both a complicated ground network of communications and for all radio communications between the many ground stations and the aircraft in the air. It is also responsible for the technical maintenance and efficiency of the ground installations themselves and the various types of radio equipment installed in the aircraft. Another duty is the final training of the personnel, both Service and civilian, to ensure that they are 100% proficient for their special duties, both in the air and on the ground. Finally, within the Signals Branch is the *code and cypher division.* Now a few details about each of these duties.

As regards the ground communications network, we have to be able to maintain constant communication with the United Kingdom, Iceland, Greenland, Labrador, Newfoundland, many place in Canada and the United States, and also with Bermuda, the Bahamas, Jamaica, Trinidad, British Guiana and places in Brazil and West Africa. This communication is normally through what we call "point to point" radio channels, backed, wherever possible, by priority arrangements with the cable and telegraph companies. At times the use of cable is compulsory as the Northern Lights play strange tricks with radio communication in the higher latitudes. As you know, the British Broadcasting Corporation is sometimes unable to broadcast their news bulletins from England to Canada. Not so very long ago we used to be out of radio communication with one of our northern stations for as long as a week at a time and as there was no cable or telegraph, we had to use communication aircraft. But the search for technical improvements always continues and quite recently we have overcome what at one time appeared to be an insuperable difficulty.

The ground to air communications fall into several categories. There is the short range voice control by radio in the vicinity of airfields for the control of take-offs and landings, and the long range wireless telegraphy for which the Morse Code is used. This is of great value over the middle of the Atlantic when urgent meteorological or other information has to be passed. As the enemy are able to intercept all such messages they have to be put into cypher.

Then there are many *radio aids to navigation.* These are rather technical and it will suffice to say that an aircraft can be navigated for hundreds of miles whilst flying blind through clouds, by a combination of radio instruments in the aircraft and on the ground. Needless to say, all this equipment needs very expert maintenance and we have a large radio maintenance organization with parties at every station which our aircraft use, to do this work.

I have already mentioned the training of the radio operators. For these we have a complete school at Dorval, staffed by experts who have done many Atlantic crossings.

As regards the *Cypher Division,* not only have the ground to air messages to be encyphered, but also practically all those passed by "point to point" or by cable. This cypher work on the ground is done almost entirely by W.A.A.F. Officers of the R.A.F. and they are to be found at stations from the Far North to the tropics, except at one or two places where there is literally no accommodation for women. At the Headquarters at Dorval we also have on loan from the R.C.A.F. a number of W.D.'s who handle the distribution of hundreds of messages a day.

The Engineering Department is a large one employing at Dorval alone more than 700 civilians under the supervision of their own foremen, but controlled by R.A.F. Engineer Officers. Their principal work is to examine every aircraft that comes in for delivery across the Atlantic, to ensure that everything is in perfect trim. An enormous amount of inspection work is involved and sometimes recent modifications have to be incorporated.

Then there is the maintenance of the aircraft which belong to the Communication Squadron and to the Training Wing, and if one of these is involved in a crash it has to be repaired if this is possible. The fact that our losses in aircraft during the actual flight over the Atlantic is less than ½% testifies to the efficiency of this department.

Then we have the *Traffic Department.* Now the medium and heavy bomber is about the only war material that does not require valuable shipping space to take it across the ocean. Furthermore, it not only takes itself, but certain types also carry urgently required freight and diplomatic mail.

Earlier I mentioned that one of our problems was to get the aircrews back after they had delivered their aircraft. As far as the North Atlantic is concerned, this is done by the British Overseas Airways Corporation who operate under our control a number of Liberators for the purpose. Although the primary object of working these aircraft is to bring back crews from the United Kingdom to Canada, we take full advantage of their passage from Canada to the United Kingdom to transport passengers, urgent freight and diplomatic mail for Great Britain, and an aircraft never leaves except at full permissible weight. In fact the volume of freight and number of passengers carried by us is such as to make the Command a large airline organization and it is the function of the Traffic Department to control the despatch and arrival of all urgent war materials, government mail and official passengers.

It also handles the large fleet of busses, station wagons and cars we require. At Dorval alone, during every 24 hours we have to transport about 2,500 people to and from the Airport as there is no other means of transportation available.

On the South Atlantic Route we operate our own Liberator Return Ferry Service and a considerable amount of cargo is carried in these aircraft when they fly to Africa to fetch crews.

The Traffic Department also has to keep in very close touch with the British Air Commission in Washington and with the authorities at Ottawa so that the necessary priorities can be given to the passengers and freight to be carried.

At this point I will say a few words about the official passengers who travel in our B.O.A.C. Return Ferry Service aircraft. I am sometimes asked if I can provide a passage by bomber but this I can never do under the agreement reached by the various governments concerned. The system is as follows:

If passengers are from the United States their applications must be made to the British Embassy in Washington.

If they are Canadian subjects, their applications must be made to the Department of Transport, Ottawa.

If they are United Kingdom subjects in Canada, then they must apply to the Office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom at Ottawa.

The Traffic Department keep these three authorities informed of the number of seats which are going to be available according to the frequency of our schedule and they collaborate and allot these seats according to the importance of the mission on which the passenger is travelling. I obviously have no say in this matter and the only passengers I can put on, on my own authority, are my own staff officers should they have to travel to England for work or conferences at the Air Ministry or the Headquarters of the Transport Command.

The *Equipment Branch* is probably one of the most complicated in the R.A.F. as it has to deal with such a large variety of both technical and non-technical stores of British, Canadian and American origin. At Headquarters we employ some 150 civilians, again under the control of R.A.F. Equipment Officers.

Let me give you a short resume of their various duties:

The Department is primarily responsible for the provision of all equipment and spares required by the Engineer and Radio Departments and by the Out-stations, and the number of individual items involved is legion. It also has a Barracks stores section for the custody and issue of clothing, bedding and similar non-technical stores. Then we have our stationery and purchasing departments. Finally, there is catering. At Dorval we have our own cafeteria which is open day and night to provide for the day and night shifts. Up to 2,000 luncheons are served daily. The Equipment Branch is also responsible for supervising similar activities, although on a smaller scale, at the Out-stations.

Then there is the *Accounting Department* which has to handle the Pay and Allowances of the R.A.F. and Dominion Service personnel, and the payroll of all the civilians. The fact, as I have mentioned before, that these personnel are located over such a large geographical area means that the department has to make arrangements to obtain funds from various sources in different parts of the world, and deal in a large range of currencies, such as Canadian and United States dollars, Bahamian and Bermudian sterling and South American and African currencies. Then sometimes our crews go as far as India and travelling expenses have to be arranged enroute through many other countries. The constant movement of individuals over vast distances involving absences of from days to weeks, entails a very considerable amount of work in settling individual claims for travelling expenses and adjustments of cash advances.

I should not like to forget the *Manager of the Civilian Personnel Department,* who is responsible for engaging all civilian employees and maintaining their records. He combines with these duties a variety of others, such as welfare, and in conjunction with the Accounting Department, the local organization for the successive Victory Loans. This time our object was $110,000 which has already been exceeded by about $43,000, and we hope to go further.

When you consider that all this organization about which I have been talking is mainly to do with ferrying from this side of the Atlantic, you will appreciate what a great task the Transport Command has when it is also responsible for the reinforcements of front line squadrons and the carriage of large quatities of supplies to the battlefronts, as well as the evacuation of the wounded. In the Sicilian campaign Transport Command aircraft were the first to land in Sicily for the purpose of carrying in special supplies and evacuating wounded troops. I am sure that you will, therefore, agree with me that Air Transport is playing a substantial role in the winning of this war.

Before I sit down I should like to thank the President and Executive of the Empire Club of Canada for having invited me to come here and speak to you. It has been a great privilege to address this Club and I hope I have been able to give you some idea of the work of the Transport Command in this great country of yours.

"THE ROLE OF TRANSIT IN COMMUNITY PLANNING"

AN ADDRESS BY

MR. CHARLES GORDON.

Chairman: The President, Mr. W. Eason Humphreys

Armistice Day, Thursday, November 11, 1943

MR. HUMPHREYS: There is an exact science and much engineering romance behind the small ticket we place in the fare-box of our electric cars and motor buses. Canada shares that science and engineering with the United States, and this is well done through two fine associations —The Canadian Transit Association and The American Transit Association.

Our guest, Mr. Charles Gordon, is managing director of The American Transit Association. He has been to Canada to discuss transit problems with our industry many times, But it seemed desirable that more of us should share Mr. Gordon's extensive and varied experience on matters affecting so many Canadians. Thus, he has kindly accepted our invitation.

Except for United States' Army Aero Service during World War I, Mr. Gordon has been identified with the transit industry since his degree in engineering from the University of Illinois in 1912. Our guest has had much practical experience, chiefly with the Chicago surface lines. Afterwards, he became western editor of the *Electric Railway Journal* and the magazine *Bus Transportation.* Coming to New York in 1925, he took the editor's chair of the *Transit Journal,* but a few years later was unanimously selected as managing director of The American Transit Association, continuing in that capacity for the past 14 years.

One of Mr. Gordon's first projects was to organize the Presidents' Conference Committee (P.C.C.) of the American Transit Association. It was that committee which developed the now well-known P.C.C. car, of which Toronto is the possessor of several hundred. Indeed, the engineering history of the P.C.C. car would, in itself, make an interesting address.

Much more could be said of Mr. Gordon's work and influence for the benefit of the local rider, whether he be in the United States, Canada, Britain, or elsewhere, but we are anxious to hear Mr. Gordon's address.

Gentlemen: Mr. Charles Gordon.

MR. GORDON: It seems appropriate that on this 11th of November, marking the date of the Armistice in the last war, we should be considering the making of plans for the future—in this instance, community plans. The whole idea of planning today is perhaps of greater interest because most thinking people feel that if we had done a better job 25 years ago, the world would not have fallen once more into the shambles from which we are now again trying to extricate it.

There is some danger that in our current enthusiasm for planning, we may fall into the error of assuming that the mere making of plans is in itself a good thing. For that reason we need to keep in mind that there can be bad plans as well as good plans; that a prerequisite to the making of good plans is a broad basic knowledge and understanding of accumulated experience in a particular field of endeavor.

Unless the planner is thus equipped, it is too much to expect that his plans—regardless of how idealistic and desirable their objectives—will work when put to the test of execution. As a prominent industrialist in the United States said some years ago, "There is as much difference between *planning* improvements and *making* improvements, as there is between *feeling* good and *being* good.

In the field of community planning, a long forward step has, in my judgment, recently been made. Even while Germany was trying to bomb London out of existence in this war, a comprehensive plan for the redevelopment of a large part of the London area was in the making. This plan, prepared for the London County Council and recently published, was undoubtedly forged in the midst of that city's heroic struggle for survival, which won for the British the admiration of the remaining free peoples of the world.

Perhaps, because of these circumstances under which much of the work must have been done, or because the authors were inspired by the fact that they were dealing with the destiny of the world's greatest city; most authorities who have so far expressed themselves seem agreed that the work is a monumental one which will serve as a pattern and an inspiration to other community planners everywhere.

It is interesting to note that a plan for the redevelopment of battle scarred London is published even while the struggle for freedom and civilization still rages. For the need of such a plan was apparent many years before the blitz started. And similarly, in almost every large American city today, the making of postwar community plans is rapidly gaining momentum, even though, thank God, there has been none of the bombing and physical destruction here, that is being experienced by the cities abroad.

All over America—both in the United States and Canada—there are rapidly multiplying plans for postwar improvements. There are plans for slum clearances, for new housing projects. Plans for playgrounds and other recreational areas are being actively sponsored, as they should be, of course. Spectacular highway plans seem to have a fascination for many. Perhaps this is because such plans can be presented in futuristic panoramas that appeal to the eye and to the imagination, for we all like to imagine ourselves rolling down a great, broad highway, in a luxurious car, escaping from the restraints and cares of a work-a-day world. There are so many organizations planning postwar improvements and actively promoting them, both as desirable in themselves and also as projects for postwar employment, that it is extremely difficult to keep abreast of them all.

One feature that characterizes the promotion of the more ambitious of these plans seems to be a tendency to stress the advantages that would accrue—while relegating as far into the background as possible, the awkward item of cost.

Why all of this sudden interest in community planning and rehabilitation?

Simply because, at long last, many people are beginning to realize that something is radically wrong with our cities; that the situation has been getting steadily worse for a considerable time; and that unless steps are taken at once to reverse in the immediate postwar period, when building is resumed, the trends which had been gaining momentum for a number of years before the outbreak of war, our American cities will be destroyed from within just as effectively—if not so spectacularly—as bombing is destroying the cities of Europe and Asia.

During the past fifty years, in the United States, there has been a great shift in the relative population of urban and rural areas. The number of inhabitants of cities trebled, while rural population increased a bare one-third during this period. As a consequence, most major social problems are encountered in cities or in urban areas. They arise because of the changes in the living conditions to which a large proportion of the people have been subjected and are magnified by the rapidity with which the shift has occurred. The commercial and industrial activities which are centred in cities also make them the nuclei or nerve centre of our exceedingly delicate and complex economic mechanism. Accordingly, anything which affects the stability and orderly development of cities is a matter of national as well as local concern.

Our cities all over America are figuratively exploding. Perhaps this phenomena is more apparent in the United States than it is in Canada. If so, it is merely because the basic causes are a little further developed on our side of the border. Our cities are spreading out in random fashion with no apparent plan of control, over much larger areas than seems necessary or rational. At the same time much vacant land lies totally undeveloped within the boundaries of existing cities while a widening belt of built up property, radiating from the business centres, deteriorates into blighted districts.

As this process continues, and as people must travel considerably greater distances from their homes to central business areas, the difficulties, inconveniences and dangers of local travel increase rapidly. Efforts to improve the situation by the widening of streets and the construction of new express highways, undertaken in many instances at great public expense, seem to afford only temporary relief, while cities struggle under the financial burdens thus contracted.

It is obvious that no community rehabilitation plans can be effective which do not provide fully for the solution of this local travel problem. For a major purpose of the very existence of cities, is to provide the opportunity for convenient personal contact for business, social and cultural purposes. It is because of this that accessibility is a major factor in determining the value of any given piece of urban property. That location in a city is most valuable which is most accessible to the greatest number of people. Accordingly, it is futile to attempt to build a beautiful city if the arteries of commerce are so choked that the purposes of the existence of the city are defeated. So likewise is it futile to attempt to achieve better housing, more adequate parks and playgrounds and the many other necessary social and esthetic features of a modern city unless an adequate circulatory system is also assumed to promote orderly and suitable development and use of commercial and residential areas in their most advantageous relationship. External beauty can follow only as a natural consequence of functional and economic well being—for then only is a community financially able to support the amenities.

Decentralization alone does not afford a remedy for local travel difficulties. On the contrary, when brought about, as it has been in large measure, by our effort to run away from past mistakes instead of remedying them, decentralization merely shifts the incidence of traffic congestion and multiplies the seriousness of the problem by increasing the number of congested points within an urban area. As this process continues it is readily apparent that every home owner and every investor in a business or in business property stands in imminent danger of finding his assets impaired by some unexpected shift of population or activity to a new location.

We need to have a better understanding of the causes and remedies of the difficulties that confront us in cities. Only then may me hope to be really successful in bringing about the stability and orderly development and the improved living conditions for urban dwellers that we all so ardently desire.

A very brief analysis of the three major stages in the development of American cities may help to throw light on the subject.

Before 1880 the area of cities was limited by the distances which could be traversed in a reasonable time between home and work or business, on foot, on horseback or in animal drawn vehicles. In this period, cities were limited to an area extending about two or two and a half miles from the centre.

Between 1880 and 1910, the second stage, introduction of the electric street car extended the practicable radius of population distribution, and hence of potential urban development, to a distance of approximately five miles. During this period, also, there occurred in America a great influx of immigration, and simultaneously due to industrialization, city population grew much more rapidly than rural. Accordingly, within each city, the magic combination of population increase and improved transportation, set up centrifugal and centripetal forces which were far reaching in their effects. Value was added to the outlying sections as improved transportation made them more accessible to the centre, and at the same time central values rose as the trade area was enlarged.

Our cities grew so spectacularly, and the process continued over so long a period of time, that the idea became firmly established that the resulting rise in city property values would continue indefinitely.

Thus when a new and radical product of our industrial age appeared, which ushered in the third stage of city development and which was to have a most profound effect upon the whole pattern of urban living, its significance was scarcely noted and its full influence is not yet generally recognized—even after some thirty years.

I refer, of course, to the automobile.

In a very few years after its crude beginnings, this remarkable product of our industrial age was developed into a vehicle that everyone wanted to own. At the same time its manufacturers introduced a technique of mass production that brought the cost down to the point where vast numbers could be sold. Thereupon, all former concepts of transportation limits and acceptable standards were quickly dissipated. The potential area of urbanization jumped from its former five mile radius to fifteen or twenty miles. It needs but a knowledge of the fact that the area of a circle is proportional to the square of its radius, to visualize what a far reaching change this represented. This potential city area increased from approximately 75 square miles to about 700 square miles, or almost 1,000 per cent.

Note, also, that while this radical change was taking place, the curve of population increase of cities was flattening out; in fact, just prior to the outbreak of war it had actually reversed itself in some locations and there was a net loss of urban population. Thus, while on the one hand the area made available for city residential development was multiplied by ten, the tide of population increase in cities slackened, and in some cases actually began to ebb.

It was quite natural that as automobiles were perfected and reduced in price a steady drift of people set in from other residential areas into the wide belt of surrounding undeveloped and relatively low cost land. Even for those who continued to live in the older sections of cities, the convenience and attractiveness of the automobile led to its increased use by more and more people for more and more travel purposes. In fact, this very convenience of the new mode of transportation in itself stimulated the volume of travel.

So, the decentralizing process started. At the same time rapidly spreading ownership and increased use of automobiles, filled to capacity the whole street system of the community. Streets originally laid out for horse drawn vehicles were soon choked and jammed with the vehicles of the people who continued to live in cities and of those who, having moved to the suburbs, used their cars to get about. Sir Raymond Unwin expresses the resulting situation succinctly when he says "The people have been going out from the city to live to such an extent that now they can hardly get into the city to work."

Although the automobile started and stimulated the decentralization of urban areas, the travel needs of families are not limited to the trips of the breadwinner back and forth to work. Where there is more than one worker in a family, and where the needs of shopping, school and recreation cannot be met by ownership of a single car, the demand soon arises for the extension of public travel facilities into newly developed outlying areas. Dut to low population density the operation of such facilities is frequently quite uneconomic but is forced nevertheless by public pressure. With the introduction of buses more of such extensions became feasible than was formerly the case and this in turn has contributed further to the growing decentralization.

To remedy intolerable traffic conditions and to eliminate bottlenecks, many street widening projects were undertaken. These and other streets were designated as main traffic arteries. Signal systems were introduced and other advisable measures adopted in a losing struggle to permit the inherent advantages of the speed, flexibility and comfort of the automobile to be utilized. In our efforts to meet the situation which overwhelmed us, we cut ruthlessly through the hearts of formerly quiet residential areas, or even more or less self-contained communities around which cities had spread, without realizing the consequences to environment and living conditions.

Generally, we made a horrible mess of the whole situation.

If there is any doubt in anyone's mind about it, stand and reflect for a moment while watching a group of children threading their way through modern city traffic on their way to school.

Or, note the following news item released by the National Safety Council under the date line of October 29, 1943: "Motor vehicle accidents are still a greater menace to human life than war. Since Pearl Harbor a total of 21,940 Americans have been killed in battle. During the same period 46,000 persons have been killed in motor accidents. A total of 65,170, not including prisoners, have been wounded or are missing in the war, while 1,600,000 have been injured in motor accidents."

Is it any wonder that every mother and father of young children grasps the first opportunity of a home in the suburbs where they hope they may escape the hazards of city traffic to their children, and its noise and other nuisances to themselves!

They are merely running away from the mistakes which have been made in our efforts to deal with the problems brought about by the widespread use of automobiles. What they seek is rather simple—a proper environment in which to live and in which to raise a family. Unfortunately, without proper planning and control of development, this does not always materialize even in the outskirts. Many developments on the edges of cities in the United States have sprung up and grown without proper fire and police protection—to say nothing of schools and the opportunity for healthy social and civic contact. There are slums of jerry built houses and shacks on the outskirts of cities just as there are of tenements near their centres.

In the effort to avoid imposing too much upon your patience, I have obviously over-simplified the problem. There are other factors involved in this migration from older city areas. Buildings and old neighborhoods become obsolete and run down. Inlying property continues to be valued at high prices by its owners in the hope that some shift in the direction of development or the influence of a new public improvement may bail out their investment or their expectations. This leaves no alternative but to locate in the outskirts, residential communities that will appeal to young families seeking desirable environment and home ownership.

But the fact remains that the way in which we have dealt with our local transportation problem—or perhaps more accurately expressed, *failed* to deal with it—is of much greater significance than has been generally recognized. And, though I do not profess to be an authority on the whole field of community planning I have yet to find any aspect of the problem which a sound system of local taxation and adequate zoning laws would not go a long way toward solving.

Modern city planners seem to be tending more and more toward agreement on the general idea which is strikingly portrayed in the London County Council Plan. This contemplates the replanning of metropolitan areas on a different concept than merely a central business and industrial core, with a constantly extending, more or less formless, residential area built up on a radiating or grid pattern of streets. Instead, modern planners visualize a business district of limited extent, surrounded by a group of more or less self-contained satellite neighbourhoods or communities, each having its own local schools, churches and shopping areas. Such sub-communities as formerly existed, instead of being permitted to grow together into the formless and conglomerate mass of the typical metropolitan area of today, are to be split apart and restored as far as possible to their former self-contained status, including even such industry as circumstances seem to make advisable. All *through* traffic is to be diverted around such restored sub-communities or neighborhoods, and they are also to be protected from other encroachments.

There is great encouragement in the growth of this concept of modern city redevelopment. Note that there is ample area available to house the population of even the largest city, at reasonable standards of density and at reasonable distances for ready accessibility to the heart of the area. But by no stretch of the imagination is there either enough space or enough resources to provide the facilities needed if the planning is to be done on the assumption that everyone will move about in private vehicles.

If there is to be any progress in the re-planning of tomorrow's cities so that disintegration will not set in at a faster rate than ever, immediately the present restrictions on building are removed, we must understand this local transportation problem and face it squarely. There seems to be little difficulty about enlisting general understanding of the importance of swift, convenient and safe transportation as such. But that vision of a long, slim, luxurious automobile on a futuristic highway continues to haunt the minds' eyes of many people.

Accordingly, elaborate plans for the construction of great "superhighways" or "arterials" or "limited ways" in urban areas are being prepared, and are being advocated on the ground that they will give access to the centres of cities and will thus help to maintain property values and to remedy congestion and blight. In contrast, proposals for the improvement of public transit facilities by street cars, trolley coaches, buses or special rapid transit lines seem rather prosaic. Even the suggestion that plans for major urban highway projects should not be settled without taking into full consideration the possibility of designing the structure so as to make it as useful as possible to those who ride in public vehicles as well as private vehicles, does not always meet with favor from highway engineers.

The war has brought home in a very striking way, the importance of the function which is performed by the street cars, busses, trolley coaches and rapid transit lines all over America. Despite the great curtailment in the use of automobiles resulting from the cessation of construction and the necessity of conserving gasoline, tires and parts, the existing public carriers—unable to obtain new vehicles except to a very limited extent—have nevertheless been able to step into the breach.

Public vehicles are of course crowded and in some instances even uncomfortably so. But it is worthy of note that with little increased equipment they are this year carrying a traffic load double that of the depression year of 1933. In the United States alone, these carriers will in the current year transport a total of 22 *billion* passengers—and the carriers in Canada considerably over an additional billion. This is more than the equivalent of transporting every man, woman and child of every town of 25,000 population and above once every day of the year.

Visualize then the problem before us if we endeavour to provide facilities in cities so that this local travel may utimately all move in individual vehicles.

It will help in understanding this situation if I give you just a few figures as to relative capacities. At the normal standard of loading of automobiles in city traffic in the United States—which is quite uniform for all cities throughoutout the country—the maximum number of people that can be carried by a lane of automobiles operating on the most modern type of grade separated, superhighway, is about 2,600 people per hour past any given point. In comparison, a lane of buses operating on an ordinary city street, subject to crossing interference, has a capacity at moderate standards of loading, of about 9,000 passengers per hour. A lane of street cars under the same conditions raises the figure to 13,500 people per hour, and the same cars in a subway, or other right of way where they are free from cross traffic interference, will transport on a conservative basis, 20,000 people per hour. A single subway track with trains of multiple car units operating in local service, has a capacity of 40,000 passengers per hour; and when the trains are run express, as in the subways of New York, they can transport about 60,000 passengers per hour at much lower standards of loading than have been prevalent there for many years.

Here then is a direct comparison. A lane of buses *on an ordinary city street* has a passenger capacity about *3½ times* that of a lane of automobiles *on an elevated highway*. The capacity of a lane of *street cars* on a city street is about *five times* that of a lane of automobiles on an elevated highway. If the street cars are put into a subway or a reserved strip on an express highway, their capacity becomes *7½* times that of a lane of autos on the same highway; and a single lane of express subway trains raises the figure to more than twenty times the capacity of the lane of automobiles.

Even this doesn't quite give the full picture. Careful study of the building cubage occupied by the workers in central area business buildings, and of the space required to store automobiles in the most modern types of ramp or elevator garages, indicates that it takes just about the same amount of space per person transported, to store automobiles, as it does per employee to conduct the business which is done in the central area of the average city were to ride to work in automobiles, it would require as much cubage in building space to store their cars as is now occupied by the workers themselves. That is to say the building cubage required to carry on present business would need to be doubled. But please note that this takes care only of the cars of employees. It makes no provision for the storage of the cars of those who must come into these areas to do business.

I hope that I have not given the impression, by what I have said, that I oppose the development of such major highway improvements as are needed in the environs and within modern cities, to eliminate traffic bottlenecks and to provide for urban populations ready access to the countryside. Such parkways, waterways border drives and vehicular tunnels as we have developed in and adjoining the metropolitan area of New York, for example, are a great civic asset and are necessary in this motor age, to the well being of the people of such a great metropolitan area. Similar facilities should be built by every major community to the extent that they can be paid for by the people who are to benefit from them.

But the relatively minor function which this whole elaborate system of traffic arteries in and around New York plays in the maintenance of rhythmic beat of the myriad activities constituting the economic and social life of that great metropolis, was strikingly demonstrated by a recent experience. When, during the emergency in gasoline supplies last summer, which affected the New York area, driving was radically curtailed and all pleasure use of automobiles prohibited, the number of automobiles on the streets of Manhattan was suddenly reduced to something less than one-half of what it had been. But the additional load which was in consequence thrown on the public transit lines into and within Manhattan, was almost imperceptible.

And so I say, there is danger in our planning for tomorrow's cities, of getting the cart before the horse; of providing the highways to give city dwellers access to the countryside before we provide the internal transportation systems essential to the very survival of the communities themselves. Unless this is recognized there is danger that in our planning we may find that we have merely destroyed our cities as we know them today and have distributed their populations helter skelter over the surrounding countryside. In such an eventuality it is hard to visualize how any community can possibly carry the staggering tax burden of providing over the area involved, necessary municipal facilities and services of a modern urban community.

There is considerable reason to believe that in the two cities of the United States where automobile use has reached its maximum intensity—namely Los Angeles and Detroit—the process of community disintegration has already proceeded so far that it will be very difficult to reverse the trend. And like the man who tried more of the hair of the dog that bit him, these two cities seem to have already developed the greatest super-duper postwar highway plans that have so far been proposed in our country.

"A GLIMPSE INTO A SUBMARINE"

An Address By

COMMANDER R. H. STOKES-REES, R.N.

Chairman: The President, Mr. W. Eason Humphreys

Thursday, November 18, 1943

Mr. Humphreys: Few of us may go down to the sea these days—scarcely any of us may go down to the sea in ships. But Canada's dependence upon sea and ships is more than ever a vital part of national life and obligation.

Today, for us who live so far from the sea, we have a breath of fresh sea air by the presence here of a distinguished naval officer, Commander R. H. Stokes-Rees.

Our guest is, I believe, the first to provide us with a really close-up picture of that terrible, yet vital, weapon of war—the submarine.

Commander Stokes-Rees is the eldest son of many generations in the Royal Navy, and he has specialized in submarines. He is young—you may guess his age when I tell you that he entered the Royal Naval College at Osborne in 1917.

Our guest served with the Instructional Group of the Submarine Training Flotilla, and for some years afterwards worked with the Anti-Submarine School.

Then, as Superintendent of Gun Design for all the armed forces in Great Britain, Commander Stokes-Rees worked closely with General McNaughton—collaboration he enjoyed—for, as he put it, "We saw eye to eye with each other."

Coming to Canada last June, Commander Stokes-Rees continued his duties attached to the R.A.T.M. in Ottawa, the head of which is Admiral Sir A. E. Evans, himself a guest of this Club some time ago.

I should like to say more about Commander Stokes-Rees, of his wide and interesting views on Canada and the British Empire in world affairs. These are as exhilarating as the address you are about to hear: "Inside a Submarine". Gentlemen: Commander R. H. Stokes-Rees.

COMMANDER STOKES-REES: Mr. President, Members and Guests of The Empire Club of Canada: It is more than kind of you to welcome me as you have, but you will I know appreciate that it is I who am honoured to be here today.

You have asked me to try to give you a glimpse into a submarine, about which underwater craft you have all read and heard so much, but about which generally speaking in the course of your normal duties in life you would know so very little.

As you no doubt do realize, however, in this war once again the German submarine menace, as has been explained very fully to us by our various Prime Ministers, was as bad in 1942 as it was in 1917, when it does not take the history books to remind us that we were almost on our knees. I think that all of you know that that is what the German "U" Boat campaign meant to the British Empire and its Allies only about a year ago, but now fortunately, due to the efforts of all concerned with anti-submarine warfare, the tide has been turned. Even the waves for the time being are no longer against us, so that at long last our valiant Merchant Marine can carry on in less harrowing circumstances. This must not allow us to forget the other side of the account—our own submarine.

Few of you possibly will know anything of what my old colleagues or their successors have been doing in this war unless you have studied the press very carefully and have been at pains to draw your own picture from a series of odd or even cryptic announcements. We, who alternately honour our old chums for their wonderful deeds and then sad to say more often very soon afterwards mourn them, and also who study the statistics of the sinkings that they have managed to achieve, the reconnaissance work that they have done, the attacks of almost daredevil recklessness that these young C.O.'s carry out by going into a heavily defended harhour, solemnly sinking a few ships, cocking a snoot and then coming out again, we can judge more or less what has been going on especially when as I say time and again we think on these unfortunate losses.

And when I talk of "our submarines" I mean "Imperially" our submarines because, although Canada at the moment has not got a submarine flotilla, she has a number of gallant young officers who have volunteered for submarines and who are now serving in them all over the world and no doubt you saw yesterday, most of you, released in the press, a most excellent article written by a reporter who had interviewed a young submarine First Lieutenant in the Mediterranean. It was a superb article, accompanied by a lot of very good pictures, so my modest efforts today, if referred back to that article, may help you to understand something of what happens inside and outside a submarine.

I brought with me a pair of diagramatic sketches which I will attempt to describe as I go along and I will try also, for those who may be listening on the air, to give you a word picture at the same time.

The left-hand sketch is similar to what you will all have seen in photographs, a submarine on the surface, though for convenience the sketch carries on below the water. The part above water practically speaking is not the submarine proper because the important part of any submarine is the round cigar like pressure hull in which all the works are housed and the crew lives, the main deck being approximately on the horizontal diameter. The upper works can in fact be swept away without any actual damage to the men inside, except naturally that they are blinded by the loss of their periscopes. I once saw a submarine so rammed, without the pressure hull being pierced, even though it was cut by a propeller to within one-eighth of an inch. The crew were all safe inside her.

You see first the conning tower, standing up in the middle, a truly accurate name—a tower from which the officer of the watch can "con" the submarine because if he were down any lower he would generally be keeping company with the waves, whereas naturally for navigating on the surface he has to have some height of eye.

Up through the conning tower run the two periscopes and use therefore is made to give these long spindly objects another support at that point; otherwise, if they were only supported down at the pressure hull, they would have to be extremely strong and obviously one doesn't want them any thicker than can be helped because of the wash they make when the captain has to put one up in hostile waters while carrying headway.

Standing up from the back of the conning tower is the tall wireless mast for high-power long range wireless. That obviously can not be there when diving so it is a telescopic mast. If one dived with that up it would snap off like a carrot. Lower down, therefore, is the short range wireless aerial which is a fixture and can be used at very short notice whenever opportunity can be found to pop the conning tower above the waves.

Overall there is a wire which goes to the top of the conning tower from the bow and away again from the conning tower right down to the stern and that has the appropriate name of "Jumping Wire" from its function, because when diving deep and everything is down (for there is no point in having the periscopes up as you can't see anything under water) there is nothing protruding above it. Thus if the submarine has the misfortune to get into nets or similar trouble it is hoped that the obstacles will be "jumped" over the top by this wire. Again, it has a knife at the leading edge so if a submarine does get stuck it is hoped by going ahead and astern to be able to cut a way out of these nets. The Germans particularly always carry cutters. You can see them in any photograph of a German submarine.

The upper deck is just a thin steel casing—it merely is a flat surface on which to walk, an openwork deck which forms a free flooding storeroom. I say "free flooding" because it is full of holes so that it does not form an air lock liable to hold the submarine up on the surface. When diving, the water merely bubbles freely through it and that water runs round such things as ropes and wires and the capstan and anchor, towing shackle and such like necessities, including a collapsible boat, all of which live permanently inside this casing.

Up on the casing is a three or four inch gun, which in the case of a submarine is only the "secondary" armament. The main armament of a submarine, of course, is her torpedoes, but they are big valuable things of which one may not have more than a dozen or so on board and heaven knows when it will be possible to get back to harbour to replenish them. Therefore no one wastes a torpedo on a small unescorted target and it is again quite valueless to fire a torpedo at a target like a bridge or a troop train which is inland. So then it is time to use the gun, which sits up on deck in what is aptly called the "bath tub". The gun is manned through a hatch just forward of the conning tower.

Gun Action is an evolution in which speed is the essence of the contract. It is necessary to exploit to the full the element of surprise or the biter may be bitten. In consequence the gun's crew assemble immediately below the hatch before the submarine surfaces. The 1st Lieutenant, who is second in command and controls diving and surfacing operations, carries a whistle and this he blows just before the submarine breaks surface. The gun's crew immediately throw open the hatch and ascend through a cascade of water to open fire—most refreshing in warmer climates, but distinctly unpleasant in the frozen North.

So much for everything you see above the water, except that I should say the bridge also is free flooding. Holes in plenty are provided there even if they do add to creative discomfort. Otherwise the bridge canopy would also form an air lock when the submarine is trying to get down. The body of the conning tower between the bridge and the pressure hull is not free flooding. That bit has a hatch at the top, at one's feet on the bridge, and another where one enters below into the pressure hull.

The captain sometimes has his cabin here, so that, when saying it does not matter or it is not lethal, shall we put it, if the conning tower is swept off, one must admit it is just a little unfortunate for the captain who loses his cabin and such private chattels as he has with him, not to mention his periscopes as was explained before.

There is also some form of light anti-aircraft gun carried against the cloud hopping airman who may catch a submarine on the surface. As you will have seen in the press lately, the Germans have now concentrated on staying up and shooting back at our airplanes rather than trying to dive and get down and face a pretty certain unpleasant time, if not destruction.

Below the water the submarine looks like a porpoise that is driven by two propellers and steered by the rudder and two sets of hydroplanes. The hydroplanes quite obviously are used for taking the submarine down or up when she is diving on the same principle as a fish uses its fins.

I will now run quickly through the compartments in the average medium sized submarine. The torpedo tubes obviously are right forward; then water tight doors immediately abaft them. Remember always that the living area is at the top half and that the crew are walking on the diameter of the circle. Below this main deck you have such things as battery tanks, fuel tanks, auxiliary tanks, anti-submarine and wireless offices, storerooms and so forth, chief of all being the main electric batteries which drive the submarine when diving.

Abaft the torpedo tubes you have the torpedo room with spare torpedoes ready to be launched forward into the tubes and in that compartment also the torpedo men live. Every one who possibly can lives on his job, slinging his hammock or sleeping on the steel deck with his head on a coat or the like.

Then comes the general living quarters for the officers, chief petty officers, etc., who cannot of course live on their jobs which take them to all parts of the submarine. It is amazing what privacy one can get in a small area with a curtain. Take the Officers' Mess where probably there will be housed the Captain, First Lieutenant, Torpedo Officer, the Sub-Lieutenant who is Navigator and the Engineer Officer. That is the average number. Well except for the Captain, who has a small cabin, and the First Lieutenant, who has a bunk of his own with repeat diving gauges so that when he is lucky enough to get a few minutes sleep he can see what is doing in the control room, the others do "Cox and Box"; that is they often have to share one bunk less than the number of of officers. The result is that when some very weary officer comes off watch to turn in he quite probably goes and turns in automatically where he got out four hours before. In that case he puts his boot in the face of a pal and if the pal happens to be senior it is of course not so fortunate as if the pal happens to be junior to him.

Abaft the living quarters you come to the heart or hub of the submarine, which is the Control Room, and which again is an excellent name: it really is the controlling room of the submarine. That is shown in my other sketch. You can see the periscope coming down into it; you see the steering gear, the hydroplane gear, the diving gauges and the large panels of valves which an engine room artificer works, under orders from the first Lieutenant, for opening and shutting valves when diving and which includes the main high pressure air supply and everything connected with it for blowing tanks when one wants to surface. All these are in the control room.

Next we come to the Engine Room, where you find two large sections of diesel engines, port and starboard. These drive the submarine on the surface.

Then on to the Motor Room where you come to the electric motors which drive the submarine submerged. And so on through the auxiliary machinery, like small pumps and air compressors, etc., to the stern where we see the after hydroplanes, two propellers and the rudder. Between each of the compartments mentioned there is a watertight bulkhead with a door in it for shutting in emergencies.

That covers the average small submarine, which is manned by about 30 men with a young C.O. of some 23 or more summers. At 30 he is almost a Grand Old Man.

You may ask why both an engine room and a motor room? Well, you all know if you were to use petrol or gas in your motor cars you would empty your tank in a very short distance. As it is most of you, with the Fuel Controller's permission, run some considerable distance further on a full tank because you use fresh air sucked in to the engine all the time to support combustion. That air, when a submarine is on the surface, rushes down the Control Room hatch. This rush of air is very useful, incidentally, in that the suction of the main engine clears out the frightful conglomeration of queer smells one gets inside a submarine—there is occasional cooking, not a lot of course, but at night when on the surface some electric cooking can be allowed. Added to this there is the charging of batteries which give off gas and all the smells of oils connected with machinery and torpedoes, and those unimaginable smells of general confinement. I don't know what it is, but the average submariner has about four baths and leaves all his clothes behind and then puts on quite separate clothes in the Depot Ship if he wants to have any success on shore—even his best friends will tell him.

Whilst on the question of Main Engines and Motors for surface and submerged travel, respectively, I might mention that in one submarine, where someone on the bridge accidentally shut the upper hatch, the main engines emptied the boat of air and came to rest in three strokes. It was unpleasant for the crew, of course, but they all recovered when air rushing down the bridge pipe had filled the boat again. This incident will make it clear to you, however, why it is essential to have electric motors for underwater propulsion.

One other point is the charging of batteries, which is done on the surface preferably at night for security by running the main engines and using the main motors, which are on the same shafts, as generators.

That completes a simple run through an average submarine so now I will take you through diving and surfacing and then a "crash dive".

To explain the dive I have to show you how to remove the buoyancy from a submarine. She's on the surface. As you see in the first picture she's quite happy like that and it is no good pointing the hydroplanes down, going ahead at full speed and expecting her to disappear. Of course, she won't do so. You have to destroy her buoyancy and you do that by having externally what are called the Main Ballast Tanks, which are like large blisters. There is a valve permanently open at the bottom of each blister, open to the sea, but the sea can not get in because the air in the blisters will not compress enough and again this air can not get out at the top. Therefore the submarine has positive buoyancy which holds her up on the surface.

There was a time when there were not even Kingston valves for use in harbour, fitted at the bottom of the external tanks, but unfortunately one day in one submarine the vent valves at the top leaked and it was rather worrying for the duty commanding officer in the morning to look over the side of the depot ship and see one of his children missing. She had very slowly dived during the night.

So it is obvious that to destroy buoyancy you merely have to open vent valves at the top of the external tanks, which is done from the Control Room valve panels, and these tanks, which run almost the whole length of the submarine externally, will flood. The air rushes out at the top with a roar like the Bull of Bashan and the water rushes in at the bottom. The buoyancy is thus destroyed and you can then do what you like with the submarine by working motors and hydroplanes to take her to any depth required.

If the First Lieutenant has done his job properly she weighs at that moment exactly nought. She's neither heavier nor lighter than the water she displaces, for which I will remind you of the principle of Archimedes. "Trimming", which is the art of bringing the buoyancy to zero, is done by taking water in to or pushing water out of the auxiliary tanks inside the hull.

To surface, you have to reverse the process. You shut the vents and blow out the water from the Externals with high pressure air. Incidentally that "shutting of vents" is extremely important and it is the first thing done after diving. The moment the external tanks are reported full the 1st Lieutenant will shut main vents and listen carefully to them being reported shut. Otherwise, if he attempts to restore buoyancy by "blowing", the sole result will be that he will waste all the high pressure air over the side through the open vents.

On a crash dive, of course, one can't respect any decencies. An airplane suddenly appears out of the cloud or a destroyer appears on the horizon and the submarine has got to get down as fast as she can.

In consequence, for crash diving, there is a special routine that is practised continuously in peace and war. The officer on the bridge shouts "Dive, dive, dive" down the voice pipe and the man below presses the diving hooter which sounds in every compartment. There is another press for this hooter in the conning tower, about which I will tell you something in a minute. The moment the hooter sounds every man knows his job. The crew all go to their diving stations and immediately carry out their appointed jobs for rapid diving. There is, incidentally a special quick-flooding tank amidships which makes the submarine "heavy" and which obviously must be blown empty once she gets away from danger, or so we hope, under the water. The motors are put to "full speed ahead" on the propellers and the coxswain and second coxswain work the hydroplanes and take her down.

They start by taking her down level but, the moment he has enough water over the propellers, the coxswain reverses the after hydroplanes and lifts the stern up thus forcing her down with the propellers. It is quite useless to lift the stern initially because you merely bring the propellers out of the water and get no drive. It is uncomfortable to crash dive for a beginner but one gets used to it and the really experienced expert crash dives pretty level, two or three degrees bow down being as much as one wants to make the best of it.

One submarine was lost in '23, I remember, when going deep to get under a battleship which had been screened from periscope view by another ship but suddenly appeared. They got on rather a big angle in attempting to get clear and by sheer bad luck they had their stern cut right off. She might have got away with it had she gone down a little more level. This is conjecture but it is illustrative.

Talking of these crash dives, I recall an incident when we were doing anti-submarine exercises during which we used to dive for two hours at a time, then come to the surface while the umpires made out what we very rudely called their "swindle sheets". We used only to blow very little air out of the main ballast, so as to save us a lot of time at night using the air compressors. On this occasion as usual we came to the surface and we were lying there trimmed down (the main ballast roughly two-thirds full), just floating, when the signalman who was up on the bridge with me remembered he had not brought up any cigarettes. I don't smoke them so he was out of luck's way. I had my pipe, I well remember, a bottle of beer and a glass and I was peacefully watching the destroyer, waiting for her to signal to us to carry on with the next two hours of the exercise, when he asked if he could go down below and fetch his cigarettes.

Going down he automatically pressed the crash drive button, because the signalman always does press it to save those few seconds in diving while the officer on the bridge "shuts off for diving" and then quickly slips down and closes the lid. The wind was blowing so I did not hear the main vents open, particularly as they did not give a roar because the main ballast had so little air in anyway, but I did feel the boat suddenly go full speed ahead and realized what had happened. I tried to do my best to shut everything off up top and to climb down the hatch. It was too late. The water was already up to hatch level and in a second would have started pouring down, so I shut the lid, jumped on it and stayed on it until there was enough water on top of it to keep it shut. Perforce then I started performing like a very ungraceful monkey up the periscope as she went down. Of course, she was immediately brought to the surface again when the error was discovered, but it would be very near the truth if I said that the officer at the bottom of the periscope thought he had seen the rising sun at the top as I glared into it. My cap was picked up so the total loss was one pipe, one bottle, one broken glass and a small quantity of ale.

Talking of ale, generally speaking this is the only alcoholic beverage which is carried except the normal service rum for those who take it, but it is very noticeable that ale becomes most unpalatable if opened in the unpleasant atmosphere common to submarines. I believe it is the effect of battery gas. Anyhow most of us used to wait till we could consume it up on the bridge. There is a hardy annual concerning one officer, who had recently been censured for exceeding the permissible Wine Bill. During Admiral's Inspection, when they surfaced, he and the Admiral were alone on the bridge looking for the sloop that was due to collect the latter. The young C.O. had left his binoculars below so he put his head to the voice pipe and called out "Send up the Captain's glasses." Up popped a young seaman with two glasses and a bottle of ale. History relates that the Admiral merely looked at him and said "You win".

At all times, of course, it is necessary for both submarines and anti-submarine vessels to combine in exercises one against the other. These anti-submarine exercises are part of almost everyone's training if he is lucky, because during that time not only do the destroyers learn how to chase submarines and destroy them, but also the young submarine C.O.'s and First Lieutenants learn how to handle their submarine as best they can, with as little noise as possible, to get away. And I personally was very lucky that I did two years, going out three or four times a week, being chased by destroyers. Naturally we had a good deal of friendly rivalry and I remember one wicked story that one of my confreres told. He vouched for it being true.

We used to carry, on a reel fixed at the base of the conning tower, a long grass line with fishermen's buffs which floated above us on the surface so that the umpires could have some idea where we were and if the destroyer really lost us, when they were beginners chasing us, the umpires would break off the whole game and lead the destroyer back to these buffs and start again. The particular officer assured me that in diving he got the grass line round his propellers and cut it, so that the buffs floated away on the tide. After two hours he could hear nothing. Certainly no one had detected him. He asked permission to surface in the normal way and got no reply so he slipped up to periscope depth and had a peep through the periscope. He could not see any destroyers, so he surfaced and went up to the bridge and had a look through his glasses. A long way off he could see two destroyers happily flying the "success signal" and dropping many small depth charges on the bunch of buffs. He went on to say that the trainee in the destroyer's listening room had apparently got a pal in the engine room, who had his head out through the scuttle and was beating with a spanner, telling him which way to follow. But I believe that is all a gross libel. The raconteur concluded, anyway, that he went back to harbour early for the first time in his life. But what I can vouch for, which was very alarming if amusing, was the little experience another submarine had of getting underneath the destroyer that was hunting for him. It was a trick that anyone might try in the ordinary way. Just get underneath the destroyer when she is listening for you. Of course when she went ahead you heard her propellers go "chugger,

chugger", so you could start yours up too and chug along underneath. Well that was absolutely perfect, provided you did not do what my friend did, who came up see exactly where she was and gazed into the frozen face of an engine room artificer. He had put his periscope through the bottom of the destroyer. I did see the periscope when the submarine came back into harbour. It looked more like a saxophone than anything else, but I don't know quite how true the story is that when he took it away again and dived and slipped out of his predicament he very nearly sank the destroyer by the hole he left in her bottom.

Well I think now you probably would like briefly to hear about at attack. Submarine life on a long patrol normally is exceptionally boring. You see nothing possibly for days and days at a time. Night is turned into day and therefore during the daytime everyone sleeps, reads, writes letters, plays cards, dominoes, draughts, etc.—you can imagine the scene in dim electric light while the barest minimum hands run the motors, effect repairs if wanted and attend to the diving. Manning the control room periscopes are one officer and one rating for an hour at a time until their eyes get tired when they are relieved by someone else. The same officer who mans the periscope also controls the diving. He has a couple of ratings on the hydroplanes, quite young men, all getting experience of course, while everyone else, except for such as a wireless operator, one motorman, etc., is resting. Very boring until something happens—and then suddenly one of these two at the periscopes may see something, say a patch of smoke on the horizon. They may have been informed, of course, that a convoy is expected and they are looking in the right direction, but still it is tedious waiting. They both then have a look and if they agree the patch is "something" they call the Captain quickly. The Captain comes and has an experienced look and probably brings the submarine up in the water, after having a good search round the sky for safety, to have a better look. Confirms, "By Jove, here is an enemy at last". He gives the order, "Diving Stations!" Everybody tumbles out quickly, goes to his action stations and waits for orders.

Then the attack starts and it is as tense as it is brief—short and sharp and electric. The Captain has to get his submarine into position so that he can fire just ahead of the enemy and sink her by torpedoes. During all this time the enemy has probably got an aeroplane escort and if she is worth attacking by torpedo she is sure to have a destroyer escort. These chaps have to be watched as well as watching the enemy. Every time the C.O. wants to have a look at the enemy when he is getting close he has to stop, come up near to the surface and pop a periscope up and look, for she may have altered her course. Naturally, all ships zig zag just to annoy the submarine. In fact that is the sole idea of zig zagging. To help him know what is going on while he is concentrating on his attack, the Captain is kept informed by a man using hydrophones at his listening post. Probably one of the escorts has picked him up. She suddenly alters course and is coming fast towards the submarine but the C.O. must still get his attack in, knowing that at the last moment when he has almost certainly given his position away by firing torpedoes his only possible reward can be a shower of depth charges. Once he has given his position away the sure answer is this shower of depth charges: there is no question about it.

That brings an important point to light, the morale of our submarine crews, which is superb. They are picked men from volunteers and they go through a really good training. They have infinite faith in their C.O. and First Lieutenant and they wait for orders, quietly but on their toes. One submarine was saved the other day, according to the official report of her Commanding Officer, by this morale factor. After they had attacked and had gone deep during the counter attack they were very badly shaken by a pattern of depth charges, which only just missed being lethal. Their lights were all out, the propeller shafts were running untrue in their bearings, the hydroplanes were jammed and, worse of all, the battery tanks were cracked and starting to give off chlorine gas. In other words they were out of control and on their last legs.

At that particular moment the coxswain came up to the C.O. with a signal pad in his hand and held it out and said, "Most urgent request, Sir". The C.O. shone his torch on it in surprise. It said, "Able Seaman Jones, such and such a number, requests to revert to general service immediately". In his report the Captain said that he at once passed the signal pad round the boat and the crew laughed so much that, to use your expression, they "snapped out of it" and got away by sheer optimism.

Talking of attacks again, you will appreciate that it would be distinctly annoying to carry out an attack only to have the torpedoes running badly, thus letting down the unfortunate submarine. I mention this as some of you here may be interested in parts of torpedo production. Our torpedoes have done extremely well in this war. The only really adverse story that I know of was that of one submarine officer who, having given away his position by firing said, "And, mark you, the confounded thing ran round and round me, terrifying us to death."

So will see that it is rather important that your torpedo, which is a very valuable self-propelling object, is accurate and does go where it is told at the speed it is told and at the depth it is told, all of which is set upon it before it is squirted out of the tube.

Well I don't think I could end without telling you this little anecdote and, if any of my old colleagues and pals hear this one, I hope they won't sue me for copyright because it also used to be a hardy annual and the same thing used to happen in different ways every few years. We always used to have a "Show the Flag" visit from foreign flotillas. One particular year we had one of the regular visits from a French flotilla and they had thought about it, I think, a good deal before they came over. I then was a young instructor in the training group at Submarine Headquarters, where we had a very fine Commanding Officer who had been promoted for gallantry in the last war and had since, as a Lieutenant Commander, risen to the command of the Training Group.

Well they came over. We gave them the usual dinner; we played some odd games. There was a full programme for that sort of thing, in which it was arranged that one of the training submarines—and of course we had a marvellous crew of instructors so you could do anything with her—one of these training submarines should go out and give all their officers a dip. Well, we all went aboard in ordinary uniform, not dressed for submerging. We took them out to the usual practice area, four miles outside, and we gave them the most beautiful dive. We then sat on the bottom, as only a real expert crew can do it, without anyone knowing that she is there, when we stopped everything, opened a bottle, toasted "Vive la France!" and then went back to harbour.

More dinners and more games, and vice versa. So the next day arrived. It was a beautiful autumn day and they said "You will go to sea with us." Well we went to sea with them and we went board just like the day before in our same uniforms, but to our absolute horror they were all in sou'westers, sweaters and sea boots, which is the ordinary submarine rig for patrol. I remember my skipper saying, "Rosie, we are in for it. I little knew how right he was.

They had set out to have a jolly good leg-pull and I will tell you what happened. We went out to precisely the same place for diving, when we were put in the Control Room, I hope not looking as petrified as we felt, then the Captain came down and, with a stony glare at the First Lieutenant, said "Tout pret?" "Tout pret, mon Capitaine", he replied. "Cest bien. Plongez vite!" That I think was "Crash Dive" in French. Well we did "Plongez vite". We went full speed ahead. Everybody opened everything he could find and we assumed the most alarming angle. Being visitors, we had nothing to hold on to and we slid across the Control Room plates. As it was very shallow we hit the bottom with a resounding crash, which of course was part of the joke to them as they all had something to hold on to. But, unfortunately, the bottom was very muddy and nothing would get us out even with a good deal of "siffling". "Siffler" is a very good word, meaning to whistle, because when you blow with high pressure air it does "whistle". A good deal of "siffling" and a good deal of going full speed "en arrière", and so on, but nothing happened.

So we had to have a little conference. It had happened before in training classes and we all knew what to do. The only thing to do is to put everybody unemployed forrard. Then when the First Lieutenant's whistle goes you again blow and go full speed astern (incidentally not much good in this case because the propellers were out of the water) while at the same time everybody runs uphill from forward to aft through the water-tight doors to bring the stern down. But whereas our water-tight doors are more or less egg-shaped, theirs were round and one fat chap got stuck in the first doorway. Progression naturally ceased very suddenly and the runners came to a dead halt.

So we stopped "siffling" and going astern and had another conference, and decided that the "fat party" would have to be weeded out and put at the after end, where they would just have to jump up and down when the whistle went. So they jumped and the rest ran, the air "siffled", and the motors went astern; and, By Jobe, we came out beautifully. Everything went in our favour—so beautifully that we went straight over and put the stern deeper in the mud than the bow had been. That jammed the propellers and burned out the main motor fuses, so we now had no motive power for the moment either. There was nothing for it but to move the fat party up to the bow and repeat the whole thing a second time when what with the jumping and "siffling" and running we finally shot to the surface, whereupon the French Captain calmly turned around to us, and said, without a smile, "Voilà!". My skipper, who did not speak a word of French but was ever polite, looked at him and most rightfully said "Mercy."

Well, gentlemen, my time is up and I thank you very much for listening in such a friendly manner. I would like to end by saying how grand it is to see that Canada is building her own Navy. That is superb. I have just one modest hope, that perhaps one day Canada will also run her own submarine flotilla. At the present moment all your submariners, who are doing so well, are of course R.C.N.V.R., because not having any regular submarines you would not have any regular R.C.N. officers in submarines, but there is no finer training. I attribute all my own failings of confidence to having had that training.

And, in conclusion, may I, in all humility but equal sincerity, congratulate you, Mr. President, and all the members of the Club, on the vision that you show by having, if I may stress it, an Empire Club. If we pull together imperially, as an Empire, I fell we shall be of some use to world peace and surely we have had enough of wars in our time. And as an Empire, which means a team, I feel that we can quite easily go a long way to make the world a place that is grand for our children to live in and, what is more, make it a place where they can enjoy the life to which we have introduced them.

"CHINA AND THE POST-WAR WORLD"

AN ADDRESS BY

DOCTOR LIU SHIH SHUN,

Minister Plenipotentiary to Canada for the Republic of China.

Chairman: The President, Mr. W. Eason Humphreys

Thursday, November 25, 1943

MR. HUMPHREYS: A Chinese gentleman living in our community has kindly consented to open our proceedings today by singing the Chinese National Anthem. Let us do honour to our great Ally by standing while Mr. George Chow renders the National Anthem of his country.

With much respect and pleasure, I have the honour to present to you the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of China, the Honourable Dr. Liu Shih Shun.

The Republic of China honoured Canada greatly when, as her representative, she sent such a distinguished and scholarly Minister, a Chinese gentleman whose wide understanding has been derived not only from Chinese but also North American Universities.

I feel we should on this occasion dispense with the biographical details of our guest's distinguished career, for these are so well known. Instead, let us do honour to him and his country by re-focussing in our minds these important facts we should never forget:

These are, that China has been fighting for freedom for *thirty-two years*; she has been at war with aggression for *Nearly Ten Years* while the nations now united with her have experienced war against aggression for only about half that time. We shall do well to remember these facts about our great Ally, especially when we listen to the address we are now to hear, the subject of which is: "China and the Post-war World."

Dr. Liu Shih Shun: It is a great pleasure to return here and address another meeting of this interesting Club. First of all, I wish to take this opportunity of telling you how very much I have enjoyed my stay in your great country since my arrival in Ottawa last year. During the comparatively short period that has elapsed, much has happened, and the atmosphere of friendship and cordiality which has permeated my contacts with your Government and your people has rendered my task a most pleasant and fascinating one. There is abundant evidence that the bonds of union between our two countries have swiftly been increased and strengthened. I can assure you that the Chinese people, in more ways than one, owe a debt of stupendous magnitude to Canada and the Canadians.

Closely associated with, and doubtless directly attributable to, Canada's remarkable contributions to our common cause is the steady rise of her position in the brilliant constellation of world Powers. The glorious feats of arms achieved by the Canadian forces on land, at sea and in the air, the astoundingly rapid strides made in Canadian war production, and the successful and unsurpassed operation of the Canadian wartime economy—to mention a few of the most outstanding Canadian accomplishments—have been an inspiration to all the United Nations and have justified the growing importance of Canada's place in the family of nations.

Like Canada, China has been engaged in a long and arduous struggle; but unlike Canada, China has been fighting against odds of an incomparably overwhelming nature and her people have suffered hardships and afflictions which are not only unheard of but probably undreamed of. Being a peace-loving nation, being deplorably ill-equipped for war, and being confident that the democratic Powers would one day surely come to her aid and check the Japanese plan of world conquest, China strove hard to endure in the most pathetically philosophical manner the repeated provocations and insults of the brutal Japanese during a period of six years which elapsed between the rape of Manchuria on September 18th, 1931, and the Marco Polo Bridge Incident of July 7th, 1937. No one can deny that China's patience was most sorely tried throughout this long period. Had it not been for the Confucian virtues of forbearance and forgiveness, which constitute, among other things, the Chinese people's invaluable heritage, and had it not been for the unshakeable confidence they had in the ultimate restraining influence of freedom-loving peoples the world over, the encounter would have opened long before July 7th, 1937.

On that day, the point was reached—the point which our Generalissimo aptly called the limit of our endurance,—where, in spite of our unpreparedness and in spite of the then still hesitant attitude of our friends in giving us the expected assistance, we were forced to take up arms in self-defence. We were brought face to face with a foe who sought our complete destruction and who was determined not to relax his effort until his aggressive design on China and on the whole world should be carried out. For us it became a matter of life and death; and unless we were willing to subject ourselves to Japanese domination and yield mute obedience to Japanese overlordship, than which no submission would be more abject, no humiliation more ignominous, and no doom more certain, the only course open to us was that of resolute resistance.

At an early stage of the crisis it was made manifest to the Chinese people that, while a peaceful settlement of the age-long disputes with the Japanese was a "consummation devoutly to be wished," the final clash was soon destined to become inevitable. This belief was sustained by a knowledge and an experience based on years of close contact with the Island Empire. Its elucidation is perhaps essential to a clear understanding not only of the dogged determination of the Chinese people to accept the Japanese challenge even in the face of insurmountable difficulties but also of what is uppermost in their minds today with regard to problems of the post-war world. It should therefore be profitable, I take it, to pause for a moment to consider the various aspects of the kind of mental make-up and discipline which has been responsible for the evolution of Japan's wild schemes of aggression and which has convinced the Chinese people of the impossibility of curbing her unbridled ambition except by force.

One of the most deep-seated and best known traditions in Japanese feudal history is of course the myth of the Mikado. The central theme of this myth is woven around the belief that the Emperor is a direct descendant of the Sun Goddess and that even the whole of the Japanese nation can lay claim to a more or less divine origin. For this reason, he is regarded as the most sancrosanct of a celestial group of living creatures, and to him his people owe unbounded obedience and reverence. It is also strongly believed that on his shoulders rests the responsibility for the salvation of the wretched world through the extension of his empire and his rule. For the execution of this sacred mission, the Japanese people are prepared to give their all, not even excluding their very lives.

Another Japanese tradition of long standing is known in modern times as *Bushido,* which is identical with a deep-rooted conception having its origins in the early feudal system of Japan. Under that system, a group of military lords known as *daimyo* became the dominant figures in the social order. Among them there developed constant feuds, and naturally it was invariably those *daimyo* who wielded the strongest power that finally got the upper hand. For waging these battles for ascendancy, the rival feudal lords recruited and made use of a hereditary class of professional warriors called *samurai,* to whom they accorded the highest social positions. Unlike the Chinese soldier, who was for a long time and until quite recently the object of public contempt, the Japanese warrior early acquired a place in society superior to that enjoyed by any other profession.

The result was the exaltation of the militarist faith, whose symbol was the sword of the *samurai*. It was this faith which exorted the Japanese warrior to sacrifice his life and even the lives of all the members of his family whenever it was required by the interests of his lord. As pointed out by a Japanese scholar, the code of *Bushido* "taught that the sword of the *samurai* was his honour, which was dearer to him than his life." In explaining the emphasis Japan has laid on militarism, the same Japanese scholar said, "From the ninth to the nineteenth century, Japan was ruled by the sword. The power of the state was the military power. The ruling classes were the military classes. The *shogun* ruled the lords because he could defeat them in battle. The *daimyo* ruled their territories by the power of the sword; and any *samurai* could slay at will any *heimin* (commoner). The *samurai* never travelled abroad unarmed."

In these circumstances, is it any wonder that there should have developed the strictest subservience to the will of the strong? And that is exactly what happened in Japan during a full millenium. During all this period, the life of Japan was regimented to such an extent that all he could do was to follow unhesitatingly what was commanded of him from above. Blind obedience to the superior and blind reverence for authority were so deeply engrafted upon the Japanese mind that they became an unbreakable habit, a habit which has left an indelible mark on the life and thought of the Japanese nation to-day. In sharp contrast with the time-honoured teachings of Chinese philosophy, which encouraged a subordinate's criticism of, and even rebellion against, a superior's misconduct, the Japanese militarist code inculcated the absolute obedience of the subordinate.

It is the combination of all the forces just described—the myth of the Mikado, the teachings of *Bushido,* the glorification of the sword, and the emphasis on slavish obedience—which produced the large number of grandiose projects of world conquest preceding the notorious Tanaka Memorial, the blueprint for the present Japanese adventure of aggression. Being the closest neighbour of the Island Empire, China knows by heart the various schemes of Japanese imperialism which have been hatched down through the years and which are specimens of the unmistakable handwriting on the wall.

Here I can merely enumerate a few names and give you the barest idea of what each stands for. Among the first exponents of Japanese expansionism was Hideyoshi, who lived more than three hundred years ago and whose ambition was to conquer in succession Korea, China, the Philippines, the Liuchiu Islands and India. The programme mapped out by Hideyoshi was not actually carried out, but he has become the idol of the Japanese nation these three hundred and fifty years.

Another notorious follower of the imperialist creed was Yoshida Shoin, one of the most outstanding leaders of the movement which in 1868 overthrew the Shogunate and restored the Imperial authority. Yoshida and his associates advoted for Japan a program of foreign conquest including the seizure of Formosa, Korea, Manchuria, Saghalien, Kamchatka and eastern Siberia.

By far the most breath-taking scheme of aggression is that known as the Tanaka Memorial, which has already been referred to. Permit me to quote, even at the risk of repetition, a few of the most boldfaced suggestions from this ominous document, whose authenticity should no longer be doubted as it was a few years ago: "Japan cannot remove the difficulties in Eastern Asia unless she adopts the policy of 'Blood and Iron' . . . In the future if we want to control China we must first crush the United States, just as in the past we had to fight in the Russo-Japanese War. But in order to conquer China, we must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia. In order to conquer the world, we must first conquer China. If we succeed in conquering China, the rest of the Asiatic countries and the South Seas countries will fear and surrender to us. Then the world will realize that Eastern Asia is ours and will not dare to violate our rights. . . . Having China's entire resources at our disposal, we shall proceed to conquer India, the

Archipelago, Asia Minor, Central Asia and even Europe."

Not long ago, we heard of the death of Yamamoto, commander-in-chief of the Japanese combined fleet, who wrote on December 24th, 1940, almost a year before the Pearl Harbor Incident, that he would not be content with the mere capture of Guam and the Philippines and the occupation of Hawaii and San Francisco, and that he looked forward to dictating peace to the United States at the White House in Washington. This is an authentic echo of the voice of Hideyoshi and Yoshida, but what a keen disappointment it is to our Japanese foes that the death of Yamamoto has forever deprived him of what must have been to him the soothing satisfaction of indulging in his most fantastic dream!

Having clarified the mental background and the more marked manifestations of Japan's lust for expansion, I am now ready to proceed with a discussion of China's aspirations in the post-war world. These may be resolved into five main points.

First, it is China's ardent desire to see not only the unconditional surrender but the complete disarmament of our common enemies at the end of the war. Just as no opportunity should be given for a negotiated peace, so should there be no consideration whatever for any Axis armament beyond the lowest minimum absolutely necessary for the maintenance of internal order. From what has been learned about militaristic foundations of the Japanese Empire, it is perfectly clear that there can be no lasting world peace unless that country is rendered permanently incapable of disturbing it again. This can be done only by destroying the malicious war machine of Japan and by making her military caste totally disabled and impotent. The disarmament of aggressor nations called for by the Atlantic Charter must be carried out to the letter. The lesson must be emphatically driven home that military oppression does not pay and that the only reasonable method of human intercourse, either domestically or internationally, is that of fair play and mutual understanding.

Secondly, China hopes that the reign of law and justice will be brought back to the war-torn world, that states will cease to employ force as an instrument of national policy, and that they will all agree to and carry out in earnest the principle of the pacific settlement of international disputes. To accomplish these ends, there should be established a strongly organized community of nations, which should have a tribunal clothed with compulsory jurisdiction over their disputes and which, unlike the League of Nations, should be provided with a powerful police force and thus enabled to apply effective sanctions against the delinquent member states who are unscrupulous enough to disturb again the peace of the world. It is only through the strengthening of international organization, coupled with the enforcement of disarmament, particularly amongst the present aggressor states, as envisaged in the Atlantic Charter, that future aggression on the part of any state can be prevented.

In this connection, we should all rejoice at the joint statement issued after the recent Moscow Conference, which shows the determination of the principal United Nations to co-ordinate their efforts not only in bringing the war to a successful conclusion but in maintaining an effective international organization after the war. It is undoubtedly the fruit of farsighted statesmanship on the part of the leaders of the nations participating in the conference.

Third, China hopes that within the family of nations will prevail the spirit of universal brotherhood and mutual benefaction as expounded in both the Confucian and Christian teachings. We believe that, when the war is over, all nations will have to co-operate with one another in order to make the world a more decent place to live in. We are certain that each nation, no matter how small or how humble it may be, will have a part to play in enhancing the well-being of the totality of mankind.

So far as China is concerned, she is busy laying plans for post-war reconstruction, in which the Generalissimo is personally interested and which have been stressed by him in his recent treatise on *China's Destiny.* A special committee has been created by the People's Political Council to study the ways and means of carrying out national reconstruction after the war. A resolution was also adopted by that body on the encouragement of foreign investment in China's industrial development.. In performing the gigantic task of industrialization which confronts them, the Chinese people will be in need not only of foreign capital but of foreign materials, foreign machinery and other foreign products as well as foreign technical personnel. This opens up unlimited possibilities for the development of trade and for intimate co-operation in other fields between China and all her friends.

Fourth, territorial readjustments will have to be made in accordance with the "freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned", the wise criterion adopted in the Atlantic Charter for all territorial changes. So far as concerns the territories of China occupied by Japan since the invasion of Manchuria, there is no doubt that they should all be restored. Besides, all territories which were snatched away from China as a result of wars previous to the present and which are purely Chinese should also revert to Chinese sovereignty. To this category would belong, for instance, Formosa and the Liuchiu Islands. Formosa was a Chinese province before it was annexed by Japan. Its inhabitants are still predominantly Chinese in spite of Japan's unceasing efforts at colonization, and these inhabitants have continually clamoured for reunion with China. It is only reasonable that such territories as these should be brought back under Chinese rule.

In certain other cases, where future territorial changes are involved, China has reiterated her intention to adopt an attitude of magnanimous self-denial, although the areas concerned have had with her close racial and political ties. A case in point is that of Korea, for whose revival the Chinese Government has definitely pledged its support.

Fifth, China hopes that the post-war world will be one in which all nations will enjoy freedom and equality.

Speaking of freedom, I would like to point out to you the striking similarity between the Three Principles of the People propounded by Dr. Sun Yatsen, Father of the Chinese Republic, and the Four Freedoms enunciated by President Roosevelt. Dr. Sun's three principles are those of nationhood, democracy and livelihood. Freedom from fear is the first requisite for the acquisition of nationhood. Freedom of speech and freedom of worship are cornerstones of democracy. In order to ensure a comfortable livelihood, freedom from want is doubtless essential. Therefore, what has been advocated by the two statesmen who belong to widely different countries and civilizations is fundamentally the same; and when both the Three Principles of the People and the Four Freedoms are fully put into practice, we shall live in a really happy and prosperous world.

As to equality, it is of course an important condition of both nationhood and freedom from fear. There is nothing more fearful than inequality, and it is only when peoples stand in the relationship of perfect equality one with another that national sovereignty and independence can be said to be complete. So it is hoped that in the post-war world all the nations will attain full equality. To prepare ourselves for that, we should do away with all unfair discriminations based on national or racial lines of distinction and especially discard all prepossessions which are devoid of scientific foundation.

These, in brief, are the desiderata of China in regard to the world order which is to be set up after the termination of the present war. They have sprung, not from ulterior motives of self-aggrandizement, but rather from a firm resolve to see and bring about the establishment of lasting peace throughout the world. This purity of purpose is nowhere more clearly attested to than in the repeated statements of our Generalissimo, in which he has emphatically renounced for China a position of leadership in post-war Asia and unmistakably indicated that China feels keenly the responsibilities rather than the rights involved in her future relations with her neighbours.

True, in addition to the natural desire to welcome back the reign of normal conditions, there is a deeper reason for China's solicitous longing for peace. This is to be found in no less a cause than that of democracy, a cause for which we of the United Nations are relentlessly fighting, a cause which is closest to the heart of China and a cause which Japan hase ceaselessly sought to imperil and impair. Without peace China can never hope to achieve the democratic programme grounded in the traditions of our historic past and ably worked out by the Father of our Republic, Dr. Sun Yatsen, in his monumental treatise on *The Three Principles of The People.* Without the total defeat of Japan, whose sword of Damocles has been a constant menace to the construction of a constitutional fabric in China and whose special interest it has been to keep China permanently in the quagmire of disunity and misrule, we can never hope to realize the dream of our Founding Fathers and establish a true democracy, both in form and in substance, to which their lifelong labours were devoted.

You all recall, I have no doubt, the famous saying of President Lincoln: "I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free." I like to associate these wise words with another saying, also a wise one, emanating from your great Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, to the effect that prosperity, like peace, is indivisible. Just as the world cannot endure permanently half slave and half free, so it cannot maintain its existence half prosperous and half miserable. For the total happiness of mankind, we must exert our total effort.

[Owing to the non-arrival of the speaker who was to have addressed the Club on December 22nd, 1943, it was necessary to improvise two speakers from among the head table guests; Mr. Wilson Woodside and Mr. Smith Ross. Mr. Woodside gave an interesting account from the standpoint of a newspaper correspondent of a visit he had recently paid to New York, where he had interviewed a number of prominent U.S. radio commentators. Mr. Ross talked of a visit he had recently made to Great Britain on a mission connected with the war.]

"OUR DEBT TO NORTHERN ONTARIO"

An Address By

RIGHT REV. ROBERT J. RENISON, M.A., D.D.

Chairman: The President, Mr. W. Eason Humphreys

Thursday, December 9, 1943

Mr. Humphreys: Your Grace, Distinguished Guests, Gentlemen of The Empire Club: More than a hundred years ago, St. John's Church, York Mills, was established. Soon afterwards the Clergy of that church were asked to commence a mission a few miles to the south. That mission became St. Paul's Church, Bloor Street, Toronto. Apart from the famous cathedral in London, St. Paul's Church, Toronto, is said to be the largest St. Paul's Church in the Empire.

Our guest today is the Right Reverend Robert J. Renison, M.A., D.D., who has been Rector of St. Paul's Church here in Toronto for nearly eleven years.

It is with mixed feelings we greet our fellow-member and guest of honour today, for in January he relinquishes his work here to respond to the honour bestowed upon him by the Synod of Moosonee, when in August last he was elected Bishop of the Diocese of Moosonee. The fitness of things is some compensation to us and to his congregation for the loss we shall sustain, for most of you know that Bishop Renison is an authority on Canadian-Indian language and lore and he is the author of *A Hymn Book in the Cree Language.* Another of his books is *Canada At War, 1914-18.*

Bishop Renison was born in Ireland and came to Canada in 1881, at the age of six. He was educated at Trinity College School, Port Hope, where he distinguished himself by becoming head boy. Later he attended Wycliffe College here in Toronto. As a missionary, he went to

Moose Fort and Albany, and later was Curate of the Church of the Messiah in Toronto. Then in 1907 he was appointed Arch-Deacon of Moosonee. He was also Rector of the Church of the Ascension at Hamilton and afterwards appointed Arch-Deacon of Wellington, and also Arch-Deacon of Hamilton.

Then Bishop Renison went to Western Canada, where he was Rector of Christ Church Cathedral, Vancouver, and in 1929 was appointed Dean of New Westminster. In 1931 he was elected Bishop of Athabaska, afterwards returning to Toronto to become Rector of St. Paul's Church.

Bishop Renison was Honorary Chaplain of the 86th Battalion, C.E.F., and Chaplain and Honorary Captain of the 4th Infantry Brigade, 2nd Canadian Division, B.E.F. It is interesting to note that Bishop Renison recruited a Company of Indians for the Forestry Battalion which saw service in France and Belgium in 1917-19.

Our guest holds the King's Jubilee Medal of 1935, and is Honorary Wing Commander, Royal Canadian Air Force. Degrees have been conferred upon him by the Universities of Toronto, Manitoba and Saskatchewan, and he is a 32nd Degree Scottish Rite Mason.

My Lord, Bishop Renison, please address the members of your Club on the subject, "Our Debt to Northern Ontario". (Applause.)

RT. REV. R. J. RENISON, M.A., D.D.: Mr. Chairman, Your Grace, and Fellow Members of The Empire Club: It is a great pleasure and it is an honour to be allowed to speak to you on the subject that should seem as remote to you as the story of the moon. Moosonee is only a name to the average Canadian.

I would like to begin today by saying that Moosonee was the first capital of what is now Canada. Speaking from the spiritually prophetic point of view, long before the first Empire Loyalist travelled across the ice of the St. Lawrence to the Bay of Quinte, long before the British settlements were established in Nova Scotia and

New Brunswick, there were some British folk that flew the flag of England in the first Ontario seaport in the year 1670.

Just a word about how that happened: In some extraordinary way the people of the British Isles came to the full consciousness of their destiny in the days of Queen Elizabeth in the 16th century. Not very long before that time America had been discovered and it came as a shock to the men of Devon and Cornwall to learn that the Spanish had actually discovered America through Christopher Columbus, and to make things worse than that the Portuguese Empire, under Henry, the Navigator, had drifted away down the African Coast around the Cape of Good Hope until they had reached India, and the result was that somebody else except the Lord's Annointed had found the way to the rich and storied parts of the world, and I think they came to a perfectly logical conclusion, that if there was a God in his Heaven, there must be a pathway that would lead the British sailor to the land of his desire, a northwest passage, and so that illusion, that strange pipe-dream of the British race, existed for 250 years.

Henry Hudson's three voyages were the beginning of the story. He discovered Hudson Bay and it was 70 years afterward that a little sailing vessel came down from the Straits and they landed at Moose Factory and began the British settlement of Canada.

Without going into Canadian history, I want to say that after 250 years when it came to pass in the strange, mysterious agency of Providence that the Dominion of Canada was to be formed, that old company which began at Moose Fort, which the Indians called *Moosonee,* was able to contribute 1,500,000 square miles, or one half of the area of this Dominion of Canada. There had been people there for more than two and a half centuries. I admit that those who went up in the early days were looking for banana trees. They were looking for jewels and gold, such as the Spaniards found in Mexico and Peru, but that is not the way that God leads his people.

They died, they suffered, they buried their dead and they gradually spread over Northern Canada, and I want to give you just one little personal story.

I went down to Moosonee in a birch bark canoe in the year 1898. In those days that land which was the "twilight land" of the Hudson's Bay Company regime, had nothing to do with Canada. They never spoke of Canada. All their communications with the Old Country were a ship that came once a year through Hudson Strait. I remember that for more than ten years that was the story. The Dominion Government in those days had no consciousness, apparently, that there was such a place as Moosonee or that there were any people living there at all, but they awakened to their opportunity in the year 1905, and I remember that I had the wonderful opportunity of living in Albany when the first representative of the Canadian Government landed there to make a Treaty with the Indians. I remember the old Chief, Solomon. He stood there, looking like a refugee prince as he confronted the great representative of the King. As a matter of fact, the representative of the King was an Alderman and a very worthy friend of mine from Toronto. He may be listening today. And I remember, because he was a very large man, well padded, so to speak, the Indians thought he must be a very great prince. I remember, when he said to the Indians, "You know, the white man loves his Indian brother", old Solomon looked him in the eye and said, "Yes, he loves the very ground he walks on."

The first Treaty was made in the year 1905, and then we began to get civilized. I remember in the year 1908 I came up on snowshoes from Moose Factory in the winter, in February, to a place where Cochrane now stands. There was just a rumour that people were beginning to move into the southern part of Northern Ontario. I can remember now the wonderful experience of coming out, night after night, 40 below zero, and coming, leaner and leaner, toward the land of fatness, and I can remember the wonderful experience of coming into a surveyor's camp one night when it must have been nearly 50 below zero and they gave us the best bed in the place. Northern hospitality. We slept late next morning and I went down with my Indian guide into the dining room and there was a bacon and eggs breakfast—a whole dozen eggs with bacon to match. We were as lean as greyhounds, and I wondered at the technique of the Indian who had never seen such things before. He knew what to do with the bacon, but as far as the eggs were concerned, after each piece of bacon he took gracefully a fried egg on the end of his knife and swallowed one after another until he consumed seven. I had the rest.

Those were the days when people who had been doing missionary work up there for 75 years came down to meet the coming of the glory of civilization. I can remember now the days of the camps when I waded through the old swamps toward Porcupine Lake, where Hollinger now is, and the way in which at the old Kelso House, they had a hotel which gave a bed to a man for six hours and then he had to clear out and while the bed was warm his successor lay down to sleep. But today that part of the country has become an important place.

Well, the first debt that we owe to Northern Ontario is the debt of history. They discovered us rather than we discovered them.

I want to say just a word to you about the forests of that north land. Man is the great enemy. I believe that although man considers himself the most Divine being created by the Almighty, if it came to a vote among all the living things in the world and it was an honest and uncontrolled vote, I am not quite sure that man wouldn't be branded as Enemy Number 1, because he has an extraordinary faculty of destroying all the living things of Nature.

Now, I am one of those who believes in the mysticism of the forest. No one has ever been able to travel through the forest in that northern land without a sense that it is alive. You may say that the northern forests are not to be compared with the great historic forests of the world.

It is quite true. Out in British Columbia there are the Douglas Firs and the great cedars that stretch up 250 feet, but you know they are the aristocrats of the world of trees, and they need the protection of under-brush in order to keep standing. They have no tap roots that go down into the ground and there are so few of them that they can't do very much to make this world a better place, but I think there is a parable in the fact that in these great northern forests it is the little jack-pine, it is the spruce, it is the tamarack and the balsam, it is the poplar and the birch that do the things that make much of the glory of our modern civilization possible.

Man has an extraordinary faculty for destroying trees, not only by cutting them down and turning them in his will, but in burning them down in the most senseless, diabolical manner. Have you ever seen a forest fire? One of the tragedies of Northern Ontario has been their forest fires. I always think a fire in a forest is very much the same as a war for civilization. It brings sheer disaster. There is horror, there is destruction, and there is blackness over the whole country. It looks as if nothing would ever grow there again. Then, in an extraordinary way, the merciful rain descends and leaves are grown from some unknown source and the little flowers begin to grow up into the great sheaf of the fire weed, and unsuspected trees grow up again until in a few years there is another forest and another civilization, but standing there for generations afterward are the great black trunks like memorials, as a witness of the destruction that has gone before.

It is the land of forests in the north country. It is a land where men work hard. Some people seem to think that the people who live in the north land are people with weak heads and strong backs and willy weak muscle, but there is a certain philosophy of life that grows there that is very hard to find in other places where civilization blooms and becomes prosperous.

I want to say just a word to you about what we owe to the Indian, and I am speaking now, not in any religious sence at all, but simply as one who knows the Indian from childhood. You know, the Indian is a man apart. The Cree and the Ojibway lived in that great Northland long before the white man came to America. Where they came from, I don't know. You know, one of the things I have always thought as I listened to the Indian tongue is that language is one of the things that makes us believe that mankind had a higher existence in the historic past, in many cases, than he has now. To hear an Indian using his beautiful language with a paradigm of the verbs more complicated than that of the Greek grammar is almost like seeing a child playing with jewels on the shore, the value of which he hardly recognizes himself. But they did certain things, you know. Did you ever think of the mystery of the snowshoe? Did you ever think of the meaning of the rabbit skin blanket? In days when there was no central heating, in days when people didn't live in houses, the Indians made their rabbit skin blanket in a most extraordinary way. They had an old net hanging up, about eight feet square, and then they would take a hundred and fifty rabbit skins, cut by their wives and rolled in a string about as thick as your finger and these were loosely woven until you had a solid mat, as light as a feather, the air could go through it and it would enable you to sleep out when it was 50 below zero.

And the birch bark canoe, one of the most beautiful creations of the Indian. made it possible to travel over all those rivers and all the little boats of Canada, the Peterboroughs and the Chestnut canoes are the descendents of his birch bark canoe.

You know the Indian has a philosophy of life of his own. He toils not in the ordinary sense of the word. He has his good days. He takes what God gives him and somehow or other he loves to be able to live in his birch bark wigwam. There it is, like an inverted cone under the trees, everything clean—aromatic spruce boughs with a little fire in the centre of it, a deer skin door, and just as soon as it begins to get shabby, instead of having it redecorated, he simply moves it. He gets into a canoe and paddles fifty miles down the river. He starts housekeeping again and it is all done in an hour or so. Yes, they can teach us certain things.

One of the things I would like to say that I don't think we realize the value of that north country from the point of view of the tourists of the future. We have destroyed a great many things without knowing it. When I was a child I lived on Lake Nipigon and on the Nipigon River. It used to be the most beautiful river in North America, the greatest trout stream in the world, a clear, flashing stream that flows for forty miles between Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior. People used to come from all the civilized countries in the world. In the days when transportation was very difficult they used to come to the north country, come to the Nipigon River, and they used to catch trout that were a legend wherever sportsmen lived. Unfortunately, civilization made it necessary that there should be dams planted in the Nipigon River. Why, I don't know. Why it had to be the Nipigon River, I'm not quite sure. They were located at Virgin Falls and at Cape Alexander and the result is the river became sluggish, coarse fish came in, and the river is now only a legend of what is used to be fifty years ago.

However, these things are necessary for civilization. I want, however, especially today to talk to you about the pioneer spirit in that north country. I feel somehow or other that we here in Canada have almost come to the conclusion that we are so sophisticated, that we are so modern, that the old pioneer days ought to be forgotten. There was a time a hundred years ago when Toronto was a pioneer town. A hundred and fifty years ago we were very much the same as the people around Cochrane at the present minute. But for a long time progress was slow. Then the railway was built, and after the building of the railway some new inventions came and it changed, I think the psychological view of the average Canadian. I can remember when the motor car came and when it was possible for men to travel and for women to travel in a way that was unheard of in Toronto a hundred years ago.

Did you ever see the picture of the winter sports on Toronto Bay in the "Gay '70's"? Did you ever see pictures of the men with their long beards and with their otter skin caps and with their fur-lined coats and heavy gauntlets, as they used to trudge up Yonge Street in the '50's?

But there came a time toward the end of the 19th century when the motor car arrived, when we began to make beautiful streets and when it was possible to have central heating, and all of a sudden people discovered it would be a good thing to give their fur caps and their fur mitts to the missionary bales and to try to forget that Canada was a pioneer country.

When I was a boy at College here I remember that Rudyard Kipling came through Canada on his first journey from India. He was just becoming world famous and he actually had the nerve to publish a poem when he got to Quebec, called "Our Lady of the Snows". I think some of you may be able to laugh at it now. They didn't laugh at it in Canada fifty years ago. The man was rent to pieces, metaphorically speaking, from Victoria right down to Halifax. They thought it was an insult that the matter of snow or ice or pioneer conditions should even be mentioned in Canada at all. In those days we had made up our mind that all that kind of thing was forgotten and as a matter of fact I think we ought to remember in this great province in which we live, in this city which is the centre of so much that is fine and beautiful and historic in the Empire, I think we should remember that we still have a duty to perform for this Canada of ours in the outlying places. Yes, the time is going to come when people are going to appreciate that Northland. We are going to realize something that they have already realized in Russia. You know, one of the things that I think is the miracle of the modern revelation of the Russian genius is the fact that they build their cities where their natural resources are to be found. They are not afaid of building a city in the far north, and we have always taken it for granted, I think—I may be wrong, I am speaking just on my own—we may be taking it for granted that Canada is the kind of country where there is only room for one particular section to have all the symbolism of a great country. That is not true. Northern Ontario has its story—that great pre-Cambrian shield.

I can remember long ago a certain missionary Bishop —I won't mention his name—he was a very good man and he was a bit of a poet too, and I can remember him making a missionary address about Canada. It was to an audience of English people and he said, Canada is one of the most extraordinary countries in the world but it has one great tragedy. He said, you know there are the great eastern provinces which are so fertile and so prosperous and have so great a future and then out in the West there is that great prairie land that is the future granary of the human race, but its two parts are linked together by an iron bar, a thousand miles of useless land—nothing but the rock of ages and Christmas trees.

You know, it is a strange thing but that rock of ages and the Christmas trees is probably the part of Canada that kept us from bankruptcy, during the years of the late lamented depression. Northern Ontario—I wouldn't be surprised if that land does not make Canada famous in the years to come, and above all, it gives us the opportunity of doing something spiritually with our lives. Why is it, I wonder, that there are so many people who feel that the comforts that they have, that the material things of life are the only things to be considered. Why is it that in Canada we have not been ready always to grasp the opportunities that lay before us? Do you know that when it came to sheer idealism on the sea or on the land or in the north in the old days, we used to find that it was people who came out from the Old Country and to whom the symbol and the glory of a big civilization didn't mean anything because they had seen the seamy side, too, those were the people who were willing to go into the north and to make a home for themselves. The romance of Canada as a rule does not appeal to Canadians. We are too near to it. You know, we come from the farms, we come from the townships, we come from the woods, and therefore, it is perfectly natural that we should begin to think about Toronto, Montreal, Hamilton or Kingston as being something like the Promised Land. But there is another side to it, too. You know, there is something in the North that you won't find anywhere else in this world. There is something that it does to the spirit. There is something of a philosophy that it gives you.

Have you known the Great White Silence, not a snow-gemmed twig or quiver!
(Eternal truths that shame our soothing lives.)
Have you broken trail on snowshoes?—mushed your huskies up the river?
Dared the unknown, led the way and clutched the prize?
Have you marked the map's void spaces, mingled with the mongrel races,
Felt the savage strength of brute in every thew?
And though grim as hell the worst is, can you round it off with curses?
Then hearken to the North, it's wanting you.

Have you suffered, starved and triumphed, grovelled down, yet grasped at glory?
Grown bigger in the bigness of the whole?
"Done things" just for the doing, letting babblers tell the story,
Seeing through the ice veneer the naked soul?
Have you seen God in his splendours—heard the text that nature renders?
(You'll never hear it in the family pew.)
The simple things, the true things, the silent men who do things,
Then listen to the North: it's calling you.

They have cradled you in custom, they have primed
you with their preaching,
They have soaked you in convention through and
through;
They have put you in a show case, you're a credit to
their teaching,
But can't you hear the North?—it's calling you.

Let us probe the silent places, let us seek what luck
betide us;
Let us journey to a lonely island, I know.
There's a whisper in the night-wind, there's a star
agleam to guide us,
And the North is calling, calling . . . let us go.

MR. HUMPHREYS: Gentlemen and Your Grace: I think perhaps it is fitting that the Reverend Mr. McCollum, Rector of St. John's Church, York Mills, should thank Bishop Renison.

REV. MR. MCCOLLUM: Mr. Crairman, Your Grace: After listening to the Bishop-Elect of Moosonee, and the appeal he has given, one feels almost like going up there after him. You needn't be surprised if you find some of us up there sometime. I have been long enough in the north country to catch something of the spirit of what Dr. Renison has been telling us, that he has told us with that of the unusual touch of mysticism that we rarely find.

Canada has been enriched by certain Bishops that came from Ireland in other days. We think of Sutherland, Dumoulin and Carmichael—they were all from Ireland—and Bishop Renison the Bishop of Moosonee, has come to us. The other day, I believe, if the journal is correct, he took confirmation in his new Diocese and talked to the Indians in their own language. A great gift that made the Indians feel very warm toward him.

I do not know that I have anything to say, except that I am very proud of this daughter church of St. Paul's, and the men who have ministered there. We are very proud of Dr. Cody, as I have told him sometimes. We are very proud of Dr. Renison. He didn't build St. Paul's, but at a time when it was "Muddy York" down there, had St. James Cathedral, as it afterwards turned out to be. We had St. John's, York Mills. There was no motor power in those days. They had to do their grinding on the waters of the Don in those days. And men came and got the vision from that church and came down and started St. Paul's. They started Christ Church and they started St. Clements.

So J just want to say to the Bishop-Elect of Moosonee we have appreciated tremendously this picture of the North that he has given in such an original way, that he has given with such a flare for expression, and the beauty of his mysticism appeals to me tremendously, and I think appeals to us all.

On behalf of the guests here, I wish to express our appreciation to the Bishop-Elect of Moosonee. (Applause.)

"CANADIAN AGRICULTURE IN THE WAR EFFORT"

An Address By

THE HON. MITCHELL F. HEPBURN, M.P.P.

Chairman: The President, Mr. W. Eason Humphreys

Thursday, December 16, 1943

Mr. Humphreys: Now, gentlemen, Canada, like other nations, has arisen to great heights of achievement, achievement in which the individual is giving all to the "art of destruction"; the process is called "war effort".

It is not too early to orient our minds to the task that remains to us, the present national achievement on behalf of the "art of construction", when this job of destruction ends. In this, Canada has a heavy responsibility to the world, a responsibility we must shoulder, no matter the cost.

If we are to achieve the individual and national possibilities we must meet our responsibility to the world. That process, I hope, will be called "peace effort".

Our guest of honour today, Hon. Mitchell F. Hepburn, M.P.P., is about to speak to us on "Canadian Agriculture in the War Effort". Mr. Hepburn, I imagine, has a fine conception of Canada's present and future responsibility to itself and to the world in the matter of agriculture.

To introduce Mr. Hepburn to a Canadian audience is quite unnecessary, for he is so well known. Rather, I would like to say how glad and honoured this Club is to receive such a distinguished agriculturalist and businessman and Legislator, whose high qualities are so essential to the fulfilment of the obligations of this land of ours.

Gentlemen, I have much pleasure in presenting to you one of the distinguished Premiers of this Province of Ontario, an experienced farmer, businessman and Legislator, the Hon. Mr. Hepburn.

MR. HEPBURN: Mr. President, distinguished guests, gentlemen of The Empire Club. At the outset, may I thank you for the genuine, warm welcome you have accorded to me, and for the kindly words of introduction on the part of your President.

Before attempting to address this very important organization, may I digress for one moment, to say how much concerned we are with the illness, the report of which has just come over the air, of the brilliant and indomitable Prime Minister, who is now considered to be seriously ill. We know of his fighting qualities, and I am sure that we are only sharing with Great Britain the hope for his speedy recovery. We know of his leadership in this great struggle, in which he is playing so responsible a part, and we all trust that he will speedily be restored to health, to carry on again the arduous duties of the British Prime Minister. (Applause.)

Now, Mr. President, as you have indicated to this organization, I have not a prepared manuscript. For the past eighteen years I have suffered through men reading addresses to audiences, in a most uninteresting manner, and long ago I made up my mind not to subject other people to that particular kind of torture. Hence, I am here, without any preparation, whatsoever. (Laughter; applause.) And I come before an audience of this kind at a time when I thought my speech would be broadcast, and I would confine myself to a subject which would be entirely non-controversial—that is, "Canadian Agriculture in the War Effort",—although there may be some phases with regard to agriculture which might be classified as "debatable", but certainly nothing of a politically contentious nature. But far be it from me to jar the sensibilities of those who hold views opposite to my own, and I know there are many in that category.

Many of you are interested in agriculture, because it is, in the first place, in the long history of this great agricultural country, one of the most important factors, even though today you are not able to buy all the things required for table requirements. As a matter of fact, it is worse in the United States, where they had the economics of security a few years ago, where they were actually slaughtering cattle to get rid of them.

Now, that reminds me of a little story, which I should like to tell to you. It seems there was a very estimable lady walking up and down the street, looking for a well-stocked butcher shop. Finally she saw a store in which there appeared to be meat for sale, and she went and asked the butcher if she could buy a roast of meat, a shoulder of beef. The butcher said, "Certainly. How much do you want?" and the lady said, "I will take ten pounds", and the butcher said, "You can have twenty pounds if you like", and he wrapped up a parcel, and placed it before her on the counter.

Then the lady said, "Could I possibly get a nice piece of round steak, nice and thick?" and the butcher said, "Certainly. You can have twenty pounds of that, too", so he wrapped up that parcel, and placed it beside the other.

Then the lady said, "If it is not too great an imposition, I would like some of your best chops", and the butcher said, "Certainly, I will be glad to give those to you, too", so he wrapped them up, and placed that parcel beside the others.

Then the lady said, "Now, will you just deliver all of this to my home, please?" and he said, "That is physically impossible; that I cannot do", and the lady said, "Well, that is strange. I see your butcher wagon out in front of your door", and the butcher said, "Yes, that is true, the butcher wagon is standing outside the door, but you have just bought my horse." (Laughter.)

Now, gentlemen, may I say that it is indeed a privilege and pleasure to appear before the members of The Empire Club of Canada. This organization has done its share, in no small measure, in maintaining Empire solidarity and Empire unity.

There are in this audience, I know, dozens of gentlement who have been of the old pioneers who left the Old Land years ago, and whose efforts have been directed to maintaining the high position of the British Empire amongst the nations of the world, maintaining those traditions which have been upheld through the past many years, and who have maintained the markets of the world, ensuring the safety of our Merchant Marine, and those ships which have sailed the seven seas. We are deeply obligated to those traditions, and anything that will strengthen those British ties means something to me. (Applause.)

It is our duty to express ourselves in that way, and I reserve my right to do that in the same manner that other people in other parts of Canada are doing, to foster in every possible way our Empire connections. I want people to know where I stand. I am not censoring the people who share opposite views, because their accomplishments and their conditions are beyond their control, but, as far as I am concerned, I choose to live as a British subject, so long as I do live, and within the British Empire. (Applause.)

Now, I mentioned the fact that our forebears came over years ago, bringing with them the great British traditions, and they suffered all the hardships and privations of pioneer life in this new nation of ours, and they have left to us a great heritage, free schools, responsible government—all the machinery with which to maintain the trend of democracy.

On the other side of the line, one of the greatest Presidents the United States ever produced, Abraham Lincoln, in that famous oration of his, probably the greatest oration ever made on the North American continent, certainly a masterpiece of simple English, in effect, used these words:

> "Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal."

And I am wondering if in this traditional period difficulties are not created by jealousy as to the freedom under which we live.

Now, I am not bitter because of the fact that the CBC has refused to broadcast a speech of mine. Yet, it is an anomaly, because in this day we are fighting for freedom, and if there is one freedom we must preserve, it is the freedom of speech, and the freedom of the Press. It is something of an anomaly that a man who has been eighteen years in public life, never defeated, having sat in both the Provincial and Federal Houses, should not be permitted to express his "honest-to-God" opinions over the air. It is evident that the regulations which have been established by Ottawa have now become matters of policy, and I warn these gentlemen that in the years to come, perhaps the not-too-distant future, a much more radical government may take office, and impose the same restrictions on them, as a matter of principle,—and out goes our freedom. For my part, I will fight this kind of thing; I will not submit to it. (Applause.)

I could have prepared a manuscript, and I could have sent to over to the Gestapo—(laughter)—and struck out a few words or a sentence, or even a paragraph, remove them from their context, and perhaps deliberately destroy the whole meaning. And you are going to pay for that very thing, you taxpayers. Are they going to send that back to me, and say, "This is what you are permitted to read before a Club of the standing of The Empire Club of Canada"? They will not do that kind of thing to me, I can assure you.

This reminds me of a story—(laughter)—which has been told about a chap meeting a girl, and falling desperately in love with her. Unfortunately, however, she had no teeth. He was an industrious fellow, and he worked hard, and finally bought her a set of false teeth. After that she left him, and in no time at all she had another fellow. He met her on the street one day, and he said, "The irony of it! I met her, and she actually laughed at me with my own teeth." (Laughter.)

Now, my friends, I do not know why the First Minister of the land is so squeamish about having speeches broadcast. He had a much-publicized speech delivered over the air about ten days ago supposed to be a very important utterance, and the *Windsor Star,* a very reputable newspaper, went to great pains to ascertain how many people listened in. That newspaper has a very wide circulation in some of the finest old counties of Old Ontario, Essex, Kent, Middlesex, Lambton, and others, and they found, after close enquiry, that only one person in one hundred and twenty listened to the speech of the Prime Minister. Well, if only one person in a hundred and twenty would listen to him, why should he be so worried about how many would listen to me? (Laughter; applause.)

This reminds me of a story—(laughter)—of a fellow who was very inebriated, before the liquor restrictions were imposed by Ottawa on the Province. That is too bad, because fellows like Jack Bickell have to come down to a quart a month. (Laughter.)

This inebriated chap went into a church and fell asleep, and while he was sleeping the congregation filed in. It seems that evangelism was holding forth, and the preacher said, "All those who want to go to Heaven, please stand up." The noise awakened our inebriated friend, and he just heard the words, "All those who want to go to Hell, stand up", and he opened his eyes slowly, and looked at the minister, and he said, "Parson, I don't know what in Hell we are voting on, but it seems that you and I are in a wee, small minority." (Applause; laughter.)

Now, seriously, my friends, I have said that our forebears left to us a great heritage in the way of responsible government, and the machinery with which to maintain the trend of democracy, and they inherited from the Indians this great sleeping giant known as "Canada", one of the greatest countries of the world, and one of the greatest industries in Canada in agriculture, and, strange as it may seem, I am going to say a few words about agriculture, although I may do a little free-lancing on the side. (Laughter.)

I happen to be a farmer, like my good friends "Tom" Kennedy and George Henry, and I should know something about farming and the farmers' problems, and I know that we have learned a great deal during the last ten or fifteen years.

When I was a youngster there was a prejudice, and a well-grounded prejudice, against what was then known as "Scientific Agriculture". There has always been this prejudice. I know when I went to Ottawa eighteen years ago as the youngest member of the House of Commons there was a prejudice against young men in politics. As a matter of fact, some of the old fellows who are still there never have gotten over the habit of looking upon me with great disdain.

But there was a prejudice against "Scientifice Agriculture". I remember when I first started to use minerals for the soil. A lot of the old farmers said, "You will destroy your soil completely." Well, one of the things we have learned in agriculture is to test our soil, to see if there be any mineral deficiencies. If there are, then the upper structure must, of necessity, be wrong. I would recommend to farmers, if they want to farm on a scientific basis, and have the maximum of production, the first thing they should do is to start with the soil itself.

Now it so happens that many farm products are examined in terms of tonnage, and you will find that the ingredients are not in those products, and when you feed those products to the livestock, you do not produce the proper type of animal. This has always puzzled me, as to why, if I went down to George Henry's and bought some fine animals, and took them to my home, they would not develop according to type.

So the scientists went to work, and they went right down into the soil, and they found in the soil of certain farms mineral deficiencies, and when they did that they saw that the animals never developed according to type.

For instance, you could not get a cow giving milk with the proper butter-fat content.

So, the basic thing in agriculture is to start with the soil itself, and see that every mineral requirement is there to produce the proper type of plant life, and if every mineral required is there, then you can produce the right kind of feed for human and for animal consumption.

Then the next thing is proper cultivation. I would say this, my friends: in Old Ontario, where the soil is very fertile, any given farm could increase its production by two hundred per cent by, first, having a proper soil analysis, and, secondly, the proper cultivation.

The next thing is when you produce that food then you must have the right type of animals. We have developed higher qualities of eggs, poultry, hens that produce over three hundred eggs per year, and now the farmer must get into the high-class strain of animals, if they are going to have their farms on a productive basis.

After you produce, then the next thing, of course, is the marketing problem. There are no marketing problems today, because of the falling-off of farm production. The falling-off of farm production is due to many factors; the chief amongst them, I believe, is the matter of price. Now, the farmer has been relegated to a low rung of the economic ladder, and that is one thing which has made many men turn their minds in the direction of more and easier money, and that it why so many more are going into factories and industries, and that trend will continue until farm products sell at a price which will enable the farmer to compete with the labour market or with factory wages. Until such time, there will be the trend from the farms into the cities, with the resultant help falling off in agricultural production, as we find it today, and which is so vital in the war effort, itself.

Now, another thing, of course, is the matter of mechanized equipment. I know on my own farm, which has been visited by George Henry and my good friend "Tom" Kennedy, we are highly mechanized, and yet this fall it was impossible to get plow points for a six-furrow plow, so our Diesel tractors and six-furrow plows were useless for us for almost a month.

Now, how important is food as a war product? I think it is most essential. I am not entirely sharing the opinion expressed by Mr. MacDonald some while ago, when he said, "Canadian agriculture had won the war in the first two years."

I do not think it is that important, but it is important, and it is going to become increasingly important. The people of Canada have been warned that farm production is falling off, and in the United States, recently, several of the leaders of agriculture there warned the people that within a year the available wheat supply will be exhausted in the United States. I will predict that in the next six months the hog population of Canada will fall off by forty per cent. Then, there is a very sharp decline in dairy products. All along the line there is a curtailment of farm activities. You see the farmers finding ways and means of getting jobs in factories. The hired men are getting into business, the farmers' sons are going into industry, if not going into the Army.

Now, picture the plight of the farmers in this country trying to do their bit, working hard—Why, in my country you see them up at a quarter to five in the morning, playing nursemaid to a bunch of cows, getting the milk for delivery to the cities. They are working until six and seven and eight and nine o'clock at night. The farmer is trying to do his bit, but he is in a state of utter confusion.

Six months ago, you will recall, our newspapers were cluttered up, and our farm publications were cluttered up, with page advertisements by Ottawa urging the farmer to produce more and more hogs for British consumption, because, as my friend, "Jack" Bickell, knows, they have not got too much over there, and we know that our Army and Navy, and the men who are sailing ships on the high seas, cannot live on a ration of mashed potatoes and turnips. They have to have dairy products and meats. We were urged to produce more bacon. All of a sudden we were told by Agricultural Minister Gardiner that he could not fore-see the future of the marketing of pork products after the war, and he was cutting British rations to four hundred and fifty million pounds per year. The British Food Ministry then warned the people that if that is so there will be a sharp curtailment in the ration for British people, as far as bacon is concerned.

What is the Canadian farmer to understand, when there is such a lack of consistent policy in Ottawa with regard to the products—one of the most important products—to be produced on the Canadian farms? The farmer has a just grievance. He is losing his health; he cannot secure his farm machinery; the price level has been driven down to a point where he cannot compete with factory labour. All he can do is to sit back and expect the inevitable to happen, a sharp decrease in farm products on the farms of Canada, and I should say, also of the United States.

That brings back an observation which was made at the outbreak of the War between Japan and the Allies, at which time one of the Japanese statesmen said, "If we can drag this War on sufficiently long, the people of North America, who require more food per capita than we do, will be on the verge of starvation, and finally bring about a peace acceptable to us." When we see the falling off in the production of secondary products, we should view with alarm the whole picture, and so I say that Canadian agriculture is indeed a sleeping giant, which should be awakened, and I am glad we have in Ontario today a Minister of Agriculture who has some regard and consideration for, and some knowledge of, the welfare of the farmers of this, the banner Province of our Country. (Applause.)

Now, my friends, there are other "sleeping giants". We had a sleeping giant prior to the outbreak of war; when Hitler was training his boys with broomsticks, we were keeping our people in idleness. When he was building his great mechanized military machine, the greatest the world has ever known, we were still keeping our people in idleness. I want to say something for the benefit of the gentlemen of high finance, that this question of money is going to be very much to the front before we get through with this transitional period between war and complete rehabilitation.

Money is a superficial thing. I recall making a speech, back in December of 1940, just two days prior to the outbreak of the war between Japan and the United States, two days prior to that treacherous Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour. I warned then that war in the Pacific was inevitable, and one of the newspapers took me to task, and said that Japan had the money to wage the war, and Japan did wage the war by controlled currency.

Now, I do not believe in inflation; I never have believed in inflation. And I will tell you what I mean by "inflation". I mean if you put more money into the financial life stream than is required to take care of transactions between producer and consumer, then you have inflation, and you have that vicious circle.

So I say during the long period over which this transition will take place, the aftermath, with such countries as Italy destroyed, their morals impaired, we must be on the lookout for inflation. During this aftermath, in which we have these C.C.F. and C.I.O. movements, today we fail to take cognizance of the fact that in defense materials, even though on the one hand we may have increased the debt, that money would still be represented by bonds in the hands of those from whom we borrowed the money. So we must recognize the fact that throughout that period to which I have referred, between 1930 and 1939, at which time even in Old Ontario, this old Province which is considered to be the banner Province in Canada, we spent as much as thirty-five million dollars a year maintaining these people in idleness. That condition will never recur again, because people will not tolerate it.

We can see, in retrospect, that we could have built shops, we could have built roads, we could have eliminated level crossings, and had material wealth to show for the money expended. All we have left is an impaired people, and we view with great alarm, and we should view with great alarm, a recurrence of conditions to which I have referred.

Now, my friends, there are two elements in society: there is the element of practice, and the element of reform. The element of practice is usually right, and those who were victims of the depression have a just right to protest about the possibility of a recurrence of such conditions again. They have every right in the world to protest, but then, when they attempt to bring in their reformations, according to my remembrance of history, those reformations uusally are overreached, and create a condition worse than the one it was sought to correct.

We have heard of the people who revolted at the time of the French Revolution. They had every just cause; they were starving, and when the King was asked to give them bread, he said, "Give them cake." They revolted, and the object of their revolt was to overthrow their government, but they had not the capacity to set up an orderly system of government, with the result that the progress of France was held back for a long period of time.

That same condition prevailed in Russia. I have every sympathy with the people who overthrew the tyranny of the Czars, and I have every sympathy with people who were kept down, and were banned to the wastes of Siberia if they uttered an honest opinion, but after it was all over the Revolutionary Party took office, but they had not the capacity to run the government intelligently. They tried to establish a social form of government, but the whole economic structure of Russia collapsed in the early days of Lenin, with the result that thousands of Russians were starving, and yet they have established the greatest military machine to be found in any country in the world today. But they had to go through that kind of period before they came to their senses.

I do not want to talk politically, but it is obvious that there is now a new political philosophy being taught throughout the length and breadth of Canada today. As a farmer, I am opposed to socialism. I am an individual, and, like most farmers, I want to contribute something to the social security of today. The farmers who built their fine homes and barns and roads in the early days did all that as their share of contributing to social economy.

Socialism does the opposite. It takes everything out of the state. Let us see how practical it is. They say they will take over all industry. You cannot have half measures in industry; you have to go "full out". If they take over industry, are they going to confiscate it, or pay for it? If they confiscate it, we will have thousands of people destitute, because all industry, banks and insurance companies are owned by people scattered throughout the length and breadth of Canada, and not by any one individual; they are owned by millions. So, if you confiscate all these institutions which the people have built up, and in which you have the right to have confidence, you will have another army of people on relief.

If they undertake to pay, what will you have then? You will have a true inflation, because that is where I say you will be pumping into the financial blood stream more money than is required to take care of the ordinary business transactions which occur day by day throughout the length and breadth of Canada. So there you will have chaos.

But I do not think we will have to go through a period of that kind. As I said at the outset, we have had left to us a great heritage in responsible government, free schools, and so forth. Surely we have the capacity, in view of our sad experiences, so settle these new problems which will arise when this war ends, and it will end, because all other wars have ended. Then we are going into the days of rehabilitation.

Now, I am concerned with the boys overseas. Remember, every one sent from Canada to serve on the battle front is a volunteer. He is there prepared to sacrifice his life for our freedom, and it is up to those of us who remain behind to maintain the freedom which he enjoyed when he left this country, and I want him to come back to a country proceeding on the basis of freedom and constructive reform, and not to find this country in a condition of chaos.

I have every confidence in the British people. I do not think we are inclined to be dumb; I believe we are blessed with average intelligence. I believe, if we engage together, you men, those of us in public life, if we reason together, and reason this thing out, we can avoid that state of chaos, if the socialistic party happens to win in the Dominion of Canada. It is not fair to the boys overseas to see this take place without putting up a United Front to combat a movement of that kind.

I do not hesitate to make that observation to an audience of this kind, because it comes from the heart. As far as the Ontario farmers are concerned, they will not be "bamboozled" by any of these wild promises made by the socialistic party. The farmer has capacity to reason, and he will reason, and the farmers of Ontario will be unitedly against that very thing which is spreading through the urban sections of the Province today. (Applause.)

Now, I will not take any more of your time. I do thank you again, from the bottom of my heart, for the great honour you have bestowed upon me in asking me to attend this function. I hold solidly to British traditions. "A British subject I was born, and a British subject I hope to die", were the words of the late Sir John A. MacDonald, and you see that now I can quote from all politicians. (Laughter.)

I have just one further observation: Our new Premier, my successor in office, is in England, and he has intimated he is going to establish a closer connection between the various branches of government in Britain and the government of the Central Province of Canada. In that I share his view. (Hear, hear.) While some years ago I closed Ontario House, because it was a mere duplication in times of peace, the Department of Trade and Commerce being maintained by Ottawa, in view of the almost alarming change which will be so vital to those of us in Old Ontario, I think it is a mighty good thing to re-establish the connection between Ontario and Britain. (Applause.)

Speaking for myself, and my party of one in the Legislature—(laughter)—there is no disagreement in Caucus—(laughter)—even though they say that a man talking to himself has something wrong with his head—I have talked this matter over—(laughter)—and I can assure my friend, "Tom" Kennedy, that when this matter comes before the Legislature his party can be assured of my wholehearted support. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, I will conclude by telling you that I feel rather embarrassed for your party, because this speech was shut off the air. (Laughter.) I do not think it would have hurt anybody to have heard it. I do not know who the disreputable section of society happens to be, whether it is the Club or myself. (Laughter.) The President said "It was the Club", but I do not think he is right.

This reminds me of a story—(laughter)—and I can tell this in front of my good friend, Dr. Eckert, who helped me so much in my last election. Anyway, this preacher walked out of his house one afternoon, and he heard a man cursing until the air was blue, while he was tinkering with his motor car. The preacher said, "What is the matter?", and the man replied, "This blankety blank jalopy of mine won't start; I am late for dinner, and my wife is a veritable battle-axe, and when I get home she will give me the devil, and, worse than that, in these days of rationing, I have all the groceries for eight hungry 'kids', and that will annoy the wife some more, and will not help the situation any, and when I get home it will be just too bad for me."

The preacher said, "Profanity never helped any"; he said, "I would suggest you bow your head in prayer. If it will not do any good, it certainly will not hurt you. Try it."

So the man said, "All right," and he bowed his head in reverence, in prayer, and then he stepped on the accelerator, and, to his amazement, as well as that of the preacher, away went the car. As it disappeared in the distance, the preacher looked at it for a moment, and he said, "Well, I will be damned." (Laughter.)

Now, my friends, I thank you sincerely for this wonderful reception, and the wonderful attendance, and I feel very much like the preacher. (Laughter.) So if you would like me to come back and make a few more imperfect remarks, send me an invitation, and I will be here. (Prolonged applause.)

In concluding, I might say that I feel like Harry Lauder, who spoke in my town some time ago. He said, "I am now on my fourth farewell tour of Canada, and I will be back again next year." Thank you. (Prolonged applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, the excitement of presiding over such a meeting as this really made me forget something which I think you will want me to remember, and that is to welcome Major Crawford-Brown, who is just back from Sicily. (Applause.)

I am going to ask the Acting Prime Minister, Hon. Mr. Kennedy, to express our thanks, and the thanks of the Club, to Mr. Hepburn. (Applause.)

HON. T. L. KENNEDY, M.P.P.: It is a great pleasure to me to move a vote of thanks to Hon. Mr. Hepburn. Perhaps no one in this room appreciates more what he has said about the farm and the farmers than I do. I think he is quite right when he says that no one realizes the troubles we are in, as well as the farmers themselves, in this Province, and I will tell you gentlemen here today that your waistlines will be less than they are now if you do not do something to correct the situation as it prevails at the present time.

I have much pleasure in moving a vote of thanks on behalf of the Club to the Hon. Mr. Hepburn. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: The meeting stands adjourned.

CHRISTMAS MEETING

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eason Humphreys.

Thursday, December 22, 1943

MR. HUMPHREYS: Ladies and Gentlemen: The Empire Club of Canada pauses in the midst of national, international and war subjects, on the eve of this fifth war Christmas, because mutual friends of yours and mine have dropped in with Christmas Greetings—and a gift as well. Fortunately, that gift is not marked "Do Not Open Until Christmas", so we shall upwrap it in a few minutes.

First, let me say that these mutual friends and our guests of honour today are the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. C.B.C. is a large family, but some of the family are here and they have brought with them a radio drama entitled, "To Blush Unseen", by Earle Grey. They are here to show you, who are present, the technique used by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation when broadcasting a radio play. You who are listening are about to hear a fine radio drama. Those present will, in addition, get a peep behind a C.B.C. studio door, for the play is to be enacted for broadcast from the stage of this hall.

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, let me introduce to you some personalities of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Sitting beside me is Mr. Reid Forsee. He is Talks and Public Service Programmes Producer, and he officially represents the C.B.C. today. On the other side of me is his very charming wife. Mr. Forsee is a native Torontonian. He went to school at Ridley College, University of Toronto Schools and the University of Toronto. You have often heard Mr. Forsee's full deep, resonant voice, and as we all do, I expect you have tried to imagine what he looks like. Well, he is about 6′ 6″, or perhaps 6′ 8″ tall, with a keen, friendly eyes, and not a lot of hair. But he is not an old man. Mr. Forsee joined C.B.C. in 1937 as a member of the Announcer Staff, and you may remember him as one of the commentators of the Royal Tour. He has long been identified with C.B.C. in connection with talks, institutional, religious and educational broadcasts and talks on public affairs. The Forsee's have a very chubby young son. He takes after father in some respects, but at least Forsee, Jr., has a good crop of hair.

Now, Mr. Forsee, before I say more, will you please convey to your Acting General Manager, Mr. Augustine Frigon, the grateful thanks of The Empire Club for the Corporation's fine contribution to this Christmas Party of ours.

Mr. Forsee will speak to us presently, but first let me introduce other members of the Corporation with us today.

Mr. James R. Findlay, recently appointed Manager of Station CBL, has been Senior Producer for C.B.C. Toronto Studios, in which capacity he was responsible for programme administration and production. But it is as producer of the play to be presented here this Christmas Luncheon that Mr. Findley is our guest today. Before joining C.B.C. in 1937, he was with the Marconi Company in Montreal, where he was engaged in the technical end of broadcasting. After three years in Vancouver, he returned to Toronto in 1940, and as producer and later senior producer, Mr. Findlay has been responsible for many of C.B.C.'s most notable broadcasts, including "The Birth of Canadian Freedom", drama series, the broadcasts of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra, and such special programmes as "Salute to Brazil", "Salute to Argentine", Canadian contributions to the C.B.C. "School of the Air", and the important harpsichord concert series presented last year with Madame Wanda Landowska. Mr. Findlay was born in Cheshire, England, and came to Canada in 1927.

I should like to take time to describe Mr. Findlay.

He is a very good looking, dark-haired, comparatively young man.

Then there is Mr. S. W. Caldwell, or rather, Spence Caldwell, who recently came to Toronto from Vancouver to assume his new duties as Manager of Station CJBC, which is to be the key station of the new C.B.C. Dominion Network, beginning January 1st, 1944. Prior to coming to Toronto, Mr. Caldwell was Commercial Manager of Station CKWX in Vancouver. For several years he was Western Representative and later British Columbia Sales Manager for the Canadian Marconi Company, during which time he was engaged in selling and installing transmitters for many radio stations in Western Canada. He started radio work in Winnipeg.

There are two other gentlemen present today whom I would like to introduce. They are Mr. C. R. Delafield, Supervisor of Institutional Broadcasting, and Mr. Neil Morrison, Supervisor of Institutional Talks Department.

Now, these gentlemen are closely interested in The Empire Club work for they are the gentlemen behind the scenes and help us each week.

We had hoped to receive Mr. E. L. Bushnell, General National Programme Supervisor for C.B.C., and Mr. R. Clarenbull, Ontario Regional Representative, but these are extra busy times for those gentlemen. I beg your pardon, Mr. Clarenbull is here.

Now, I should like to introduce another C.B.C. personality, whose voice we are all familiar with—Mr. Elwood Glover—one of Canada's best known Announcers. You heard him announce just a moment ago. His voice is familiar to listeners from coast to coast. Mr. Glover was born in Saskatchewan, and started in radio there in 1936, coming to the East in 1938 to join C.B.C. Mr. Glover is Chief Announcer of the C.B.C. Toronto Studios. He has a flair for ad-lib commentary, and is particularly outstanding on special events work, although Mr. Glover's present activities as Chief Announcer keep him pretty close to his desk, he is, I am told, happiest when confronting a microphone with a programme to announce.

We have already heard him and you will hear him announce the play.

Now, it is one thing for you to hear, and some of us to see as well as to hear, a fine radio play, but on this occasion we are not only privileged to entertain the playwright, but also hear him play the leading role of his play. Mr. Earle Grey is sitting next to Mrs. Forsee, to my left here. Mr. Earle Grey, the author of "To Blush Unseen", contributes, in my opinion, much to Canadian culture. Canada, I think, is distinctly richer for his residence here. Earle Grey has been connected with the theatre for 25 years. He started with the Irish Plays in the Abbey Theatre. I find his distinguished career quite interesting and I am going to give it to you. He played Shakespeare with the well known Stratford Players—he has played with such actors as Sir Phillip Ben Crest and Sir Frank Benson.

Earle Grey was leading man at the Oxford Playhouse and played with John Gielgud, Raymond Massey, Flora Robson and Elissa Landi. He is well known in London's leading theatres and New York's Broadway. He spent a year touring South Africa, and has twice toured Canada. I asked Mr. Grey how long he had been writing plays. He told me he started about ten years ago. He has had considerable screen activity, too—playing with such well-known people as Vivien Leigh, Conrad Veidt and Marlene Deitrich.

Before I pass to his radio broadcasting activities, you will be interested to know that our Actor-Playwright guest was founder and later Manager of the famous Stage Cricket Club which, by the way, made appearances at Lord's.

Mr. Grey played the lead in the first television play to be broadcast, and he has done much writing for the British Broadcasting Corporation in London, our own Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and the Australian and South African Broadcasting authorities. Some of you know, perhaps, that Mr. Earle Grey is at the present collaborating with Canon Ward, of this, city, and a member of this Club, in a series of Sunday morning broadcasts, known as "The Way of the Spirit". I commend these to your listening.

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, Mr. Earl Grey will speak presently, and I am going to ask you, if you will, to refrain from any applause when he ceases to speak.

Now, Mr. Forsee, will you say a word to us, and introduce your friends as well.

Mr. Reid Forsee: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentleman: It is a little hard for me to realize I am part of an Empire Club broadcast. I have usually been part on the other side of the fence, discussing speakers, discussing speakers' scripts, and occasionally we get into some very interesting situations.

Now, Mr. Humphreys has briefly introduced all the C.B.C. representatives that will be heard today. Mr. Glover has already been heard, and Mr. Humphreys has covered Mr. Glover pretty thoroughly, and Mr. Glover said beforehand that he would rather not say anything—just let him function at the broadcast here and be done with it.

As I have said, I have been connected with The Empire Club broadcasts. This is one of the most interesting phases of my work, not specifically The Empire Club broadcast, but similar broadcasts, dealing with the important people that make their way to Toronto, as many of them do, and when I work with a person in connection with radio, I not only get to know that person but I get to know people and I get an entre into places that I, personally, don't deserve. Some of the experiences I have had as Public Services Programmes producer have had a lot of interesting angles, if I had the time to tell them.

The thing I want to express, while having this opportunity is that we don't look on Public Service broadcasting, that is presenting speakers on the air, from the standpoint of giving time to an organization so they can have a speaker on the air. We don't look on it in that way. Rather we look on it as making possible for others not present, through radio, to share with those present from the knowledge and experiences and the discussions of what these individuals have to say. Now, we know, as well as the regular attendants of The Empire Club, as well as the regular luncheon guests, there is also the unseen luncheon guests. We hear from a great many of them through the mail. Mr. Humphreys does, too. Frankly, it is for the unseen guests we function. They are the reason for our existence. We are very conscious of that and we feel that we owe them a very serious duty.

Now, to get down to brass tacks. This broadcast is being heard over CJBC, which was formerly CBY, as you know quite well, and it is over this station the majority of The Empire Club luncheons have been broadcast.

Now, as Mr. Humphreys has said, to manage CJBC and to deal with staff, the C.B.C. has brought Spence Caldwell from Vancouver to Toronto. He hasn't been here long but long enough for all of us to be in contact with him and to say with the greatest sincerity, we are awfully glad Spence is here. We call him "Spence"—he is that kind of a chap. We hope he will be here for a long period. Now, like many other radio executives, Spence would rather dive in Lake Ontario in the middle of winter than face a microphone. But after all, it has to be done, and this is one of the occasions, and it is his turn now and I am through.

It gives me great pleasure to introduce to you, personally, Mr. Spence Caldwell, the new Manager of CJBC.

MR. SPENCE CALDWELL: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: As already said, I just arrived from Vancouver and I am very new here. I have very little to say. I am very happy to have finally made Toronto. Like many other young men in Western Canada we have looked forward to the time when we can come down and work and live in the big city. If I can figure the weather of the last few days as a sample of Toronto winter weather, I am all for it.

CJBC is 1010 on your dial and we hope to make it your most popular radio station. If you have any suggestions or criticisms, my office is always open. I know I am going to like Toronto and I wish the Empire Club every success.

MR. REID FORSEE: Thank you very much. Now, having assumed the role of Chairman, having taken it away from Mr. Humphreys, the next person I would like you to meet is Mr. James Findlay. He is the producer of the drama to be presented in one moment. Ladies and Gentlemen, here he is—Jim Findlay.

MR. JAMES R. FINDLAY: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: What you are going to witness is a performance of a radio play, in which we hope to adhere as closely as possible to our normal studio routine. In other words, we are going to make as few concessions to you, our visible audience, as possible. Rather we would ask that you consider yourselves looking into one of our radio studios and watching the play which is going on there.

You will notice, I think, that there are certain fundamental differences between radio and stage presentation. Our actors use no make-up. They do not dress the part. We have no scenery. They read their lines from script, instead of memorizing them and there are many other differences. What we do in radio drama is to create a picture in the mind of the listener and it is against this mental background that the actors speak their lines.

In other words, radio makes possibly more use of the world of illusion than any other medium of entertainment. For example, our sound effects operator, walking up and down, goes two or three steps while the actor stands still in front of the microphone and delivers his lines. The effect on the air is that of the actor going up a flight of stairs and speaking as he moves. That is the illusion and this leads, naturally, to a very important point about radio programmes which I would like to stress and that is that radio broadcasting is a co-operative venture. It calls for team-work. The individual is important, but only important in so far as he plays his part with perfect team-work, so that split second co-ordination makes the show a success and all the various elements—the script writer, the actor, the staff operator, the studio engineer and the men all along the line, right from the microphone to the transmitter, all play their part with the single purpose in mind—"the show is the thing".

Of course there is plenty of room in radio broadcasting for artistic individuality but there is very little room for artistic temperament. Team-work counts. Temperament—well, we like to leave temperament as far as possible to be indulged in occasionally by the listeners or perhaps by some people who for various reasons fail to get on the air.

We are concerned today with putting on our radio play. That is all we are here for. We hope you will enjoy it.

Now, as befits a producer, I would like to excuse myself and retire "to blush unseen". First of all, I would like to introduce to you the author of the play you are going to hear, who has a few things to tell you about it, and who will set the scene—Mr. Earle Grey.

MR. EARLE GREY: Ladies and Gentlemen: In a few days it will be Christmas. Let us for a moment forget ourselves and remember Him who was born on that day so many days ago. Let us remember His message. A message so clear and simple that if mankind would only follow it, there would be an end to these many sorrows and sufferings we make for ourselves by our own folly. Then indeed might come the time when "They shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

Three days from now will be that day of hope which had its first dawn nearly two thousand years ago. How far have we accepted its message? How much have we learned from it? Few of us are wantonly cruel; few of us would voluntarily be guilty of injustice. But alas, most of us are indifferent. Most of us are so interested in ourselves that we cannot be bothered with the troubles of others. We fancy that this does not matter, we even pride ourselves on minding our own business. But sometimes such thoughtless indifference kills souls more surely than the most calculated cruelty. For cruelty can be fought against—it creates its own opposition as a matter of fact—but indifference is a blight which corrodes the soul.

Sometimes a man is destroyed because he knows more than others. For example, because he knows that the work is more important than the reward. That true satisfaction can only be had when this law is known and followed. In our society we are so often taught the converse—either in so many words or, more fatally, by the force of example. Young people learn very swiftly that they must be a "success" and find by that is meant the accumulation of money. From thence it is but a step for them to imagine that the making of the money is more important than the doing of the work. And so they learn to put the cart before the horse and all the great joy which should come from the accomplishment of the task is surrendered and dry and foolish money-grubbing set in its place.

In the little play which you are about to hear is a man who by all such worldly standards is a failure. But the wise will know that he is not, for he has done that rare thing—held fast to an ideal. He knows that the work is more important than the reward. But yet, in spite of this, his life is sad. The blight of indifference has fallen upon him. His work is not appreciated, and that to the artist, is a chilling frost which he cannot survive.

But now to the play. It is called "To Blush Unseen". Remember the poet's lines?

"Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness on the desert air."

Let us ask you to forget where you are for half an hour. Close your eyes and shut out all the world save imagination. . . . Let us take you to another place. . . . It is Christmas Eve. Not the Christmas of Charles Dickens, with its bells, its coaches, its snow, its warm and homely inns glowing with welcome and good cheer. No. The Christmas Eve of a gray industrial city, with a cold wind blowing and steely rain dashing against its unlovely houses. Let us pass inside a large building—the Theatre Royal. And where might that be? Anywhere there is a theatre—and that means everywhere. But there's something different about this theatre. It is not as you generally see a theatre—warm and full of happy expectant people, music playing and the magic curtain facing you. The magic curtain which will soon rise and disclose the greater magic of the players' art. No, this theatre is dark and chilly and lonely. Its seats are covered with great dust sheets which hang from the boxes and balconies like frozen ghosts. The curtain is up and all the scenery stacked away against bare walls. A few stark, naked lights burn. Upon the stage is a small table and a few chairs. It is late at night and Christmas Eve, but two men are still at work. They are discussing their next play. And as we listen we hear . . . .

(The play "To Blush Unseen" was then presented, followed by great applause.)

The President then asked Mr. Findlay to introduce the members of the cast. They were: Mr. Earle Grey, who played the role of Clevering; Vincent Tovell, Hedley Rainnie, Frank Peddie and Jane Mallet; Mr. Wesley, the operator; and Mr. Harold Simmins, sound effects operator.

"THE FIFTH YEAR AND THE FUTURE"

AN ADDRESS BY

PERCY JAMES PHILIP.

Chairman: The President, Mr. W. Eason Humphreys

Thursday, January 6, 1944

MR. HUMPHREYS: Prominent men whose words are read and heard by thousands of people, shoulder great responsibilities, for what they say influences the thinking (and consequently the behaviour) of many. Percy James Philip, our guest today, possesses a fine conception of these responsibilities. That, perhaps, is why The Empire Club has invited him to visit us for the fourth time.

Many of us know how, in the midst of battle, Mr. Philip left France and all his belongings. Later on, we were grateful to him for his grave, yet steady, words when he arrived on this side, for he is one who had tasted the kind of war called "Total".

Mr. Philip did much for civilian war effort in the columns of the great newspaper with which he is associated—the *New York Times.* I need hardly remind you that he is Ottawa correspondent of that newspaper now. Our guest is of Scottish descent. Percy James Philip is a prominent Watsonian, for he attended the George Watson College, Edinburgh, before going to Oxford. He has a vast knowledge of English, and assisted in the compilation of the Oxford Dictionary. He has also been associated with medicine, farming, and is well known, too, for his writing of nature sketches. Above all, journalism —to which he has devoted so much—is his great work.

For his fourth address to this Club, our guest has chosen as his subject: "The Fifth Year and the Future". Gentlemen: An old friend: Percy James Philip.

Mr. Philip: If it is true, as I am told, that this gathering is just as large as that which assembled on December 2nd, when I failed to appear, I can only very humbly express my appreciation of your great politeness. I have seldom endured a more uncomfortable half hour than the one which followed my discovery at 12.20 on that day that I should have been here and not where I was. It was most disagreeable. I had the sensation that my heart had turned upside down and my stomach was behaving in a manner reminiscent of a sea-voyage. You at least had a good lunch. I didn't.

May I again tender my most sincere apologies and thank you for having so sportingly overlooked my error and asked me back to your table.

This is the fourth successive season that you have done me the honor of inviting me to speak to you. It is an honour which I have esteemed very highly, for the repetition of your invitation has seemed to me to imply your appreciation of my effort to present a fair picture of the war situation, concealing nothing, distorting nothing, telling the truth plainly as it is given me to see the truth. And today, with your permission, I propose to continue in my role of reporter and give you, for what it is worth, my estimate of our position now and of the main problem which will face us when the fighting ends.

Some of you may remember that in the first speech which I made to this Club on November 21st, 1940, I began with the statement: "I am sure that we can win this war". It was rather a bold claim to make at that moment for France had been beaten, neither the Soviet Union nor the United States showed any intention of fighting and we were alone at war with Germany. The outlook was grim but I found that like all other British people from the King and Mr. Winston Churchill down to the humblest Londoner and the furthest Australian, you here in Toronto were also soberly confident that we would never be beaten, that we would never surrender, that somehow, some time, with God's help to our efforts we would come through.

At our next two meetings in October '41 and November '42 the tale I had to tell was scarcely less grave. We seemed to be getting many more hard knocks than we were giving. But we held on. We have come through, and today, this time among a band wagon majority of prophets, including Stalin, Eisenhower and Montgomery, I think I may amend my prediction of three years ago that "We can win this war," to make it read "We can win the war against Nazi Germany *this year.*"

Please note that I do not say we will do so. I am much too cautious for that. Newspapermen are always well advised to be more cautious than political leaders and generals. Besides there are too many unknown factors in the situation to risk any such categoric prediction. Still I think we are at last justified in indulging in a feeling of sober confidence based on realities.

What are our chances? Let us look at the balance sheet. The German armies have not yet been broken. The Russians have pushed them back and in these past few days especially have shaken them severely but they are still a long way from fighting on German soil. We have thrown them out of Africa and Sicily and keep hammering them up the Italian peninsula. But everywhere they have fought stubbornly and retreated in order. We have not broken them.

Our bombers have wiped out over half of Berlin and pounded and pulverized the German cities and industries as Mr. Churchill promised the English people he would, giving back ten bombs for one. We have done fearful damage but the German people have not yet broken or cried for peace. They have endured as the people of England endured. What a pity it is that the record of Nazi cruelty and evil is such that it makes it difficult to pay tribute to their courage and discipline as a fighting people.

In every occupied country there is revolt and sabotage and terrorism. Every German soldier goes in fear of assassination. But the Nazis have not yielded an inch of ground. They are ready and resolute to defend every

gateway and barrier to that immense fortress they have made of Europe. Rommel and von Runstedt have just been examining and no doubt strengthening their defences. They boast their confidence. Hitler has warned his people that they must either throw back the invaders or perish. He is getting more hysterical than ever.
Don't let us make the mistake now of underestimating him and his forces. They will fight fanatically. We are going to have many Dieppes and Salerno beaches. The Nazis have sworn that they will fight to a finish, and we must be prepared to fight to a finish too.

It is time we got going. I have never been one of those who clamored impatiently for a second front. I was too well instructed regarding the difficulties and dangers of a landing in Europe. When we strike we must be sure that we can hold. We cannot risk a Gallipoli or another Dunkirk. Salerno was both an example and a warning. We almost failed. The Germans claimed precipitately that we had failed. Only the naval gunners, fighting ships against tanks, and our airmen when the weather cleared, held that beach for the invading forces.

But the time has come when we must take the risk. What have we got on the credit side? I would put first our air strength, not just the bombers, who are breaking the enemy spirit. No country can stand long under that menacing rain of bombs. But that enormous fighter strength that has been built up, which will put a sure umbrella over all landing operations. The situation of Dunkirk has been reversed. We have the pilots and the machines and we have also generals who have come to realize that air fighting and air protection are an integral part of any operation, and not something separate from the infantry and the gunners.

Next we hold the sea. The sinking of the Scharnhorst and the Nazi destroyers in the Bay of Biscay were just the final proof that the long fight against both surface vessels and submarines has been won. We have nothing to fear from Hitler's navy. There has been something so coldly, calmly efficient, so tenacious, so noble in that long fight on the part of every seaman from First Lord Sir Andrew Cunningham and his predecessor Sir Dudley Pound down to the officers and men of the little corvettes, the minesweepers and the merchant ships who have kept the white and red ensigns flying on all the seas ferrying men and food to the battle fronts that I often think it is to them more than to all others that we owe it today that we can hope to win the war this year.

Third I would put the heavy toll of Germany's best troops that has been taken in the Russian fighting. There are never in any army, however many millions it may number, more than a few hundred thousand men in each million, a few divisions in each army group, who are storm troops in the best sense, who have the physique, the training, the discipline and the spirit to do the fiercest fighting. Of these top troops in the Nazi army the Russians have killed innumerable thousands. In Africa and Sicily we took heavy toll of them and the fighting of these past weeks at Ortona, where young strong Canadians were matched against specially trained paratroops and won, has shown that the Nazi reserves of these best men are wearing thin. They are reaching the point of which Ludendorff complained in his memoirs when he told how, when he launched his 1918 offensive, the "iron" divisions of first rate attacking troops had been depleted by casualties to only one third of their normal strength.

Our fourth reason for confidence is that, as in 1918, the numbers and enthusiasm of the American forces have turned the balance in our favor. We could not invade Europe without them. We now have the men, we have the ships, we have the guns, we have the planes and we believe that in Eisenhower and Montgomery and all those who surround them we have the right kind of organizing and fighting leaders.

I would add a fifth element. All the peoples in the occupied countries of Europe are on our side. They have waited very long for this day of liberation and their steadfastness has been one of those things that has redeemed the soiled honor of this generation, and kept our confidence high that the love of liberty has not died. Let us, as conquerors, keep these people as our friends and not offend them. Those who fought and were wounded deserve as much honour as those who win.

It is an encouraging balance sheet. But do not let any of us misjudge the hazardous nature of this enormous enterprise. From our bases on the island of Britain and from Africa our armies are setting out to invade the Continent of Europe, fortified and defended as never before. It is a fantastic undertaking almost beyond belief. They only think that we can be sure of is that the first contact with the enemy will be very bitter and very bloody. When we break through that outer crust we must drive forward so swiftly, so relentlessly that the enemy is never given time to gather his forces and make a stand. We must fight and beat the Nazis by the same blitz tactics, the same crushing superiority in the air, the same speed on the ground as they beat us and the French in 1940. It is not going to be easy. Let no one think that because the invasions plans have been made and the leaders chosen that this war is practically won, that we can afford to slack a bit, to turn to other things. It is going to take all the punch and resolution and effort and brains and courage and faith that we have to come through this last test. It is going to cost great toll of brave men's lives. But, with God's help, we know now that we can do it. We can beat the Nazis this year. That is our objective.

Now, as is fitting at this New Year season, I would like to speak a little of the future which is beginning so to occupy peoples minds. During these past weeks we have been heartened by the proclaimed success of the Moscow, Cairo and Teheran conferences. For myself I have seen and reported too many international conferences to attach any excessive importance to what three or four men, who will have disappeared from the human scene in a few years, may claim to have agreed about regarding the future of the world. It is so difficult to agree. Also I have learned that life is a continuous process, and never an accomplishment. Although it may be canalized for a moment, and given a good or bad direction, it is beyond the power of any man or group of men to plan the future with certainty. All that any of us can do is to keep on hammering away, trying to do what we believe to be right.

When I think about the future what I am most afraid of is that "let down" feeling which will come over us the moment the war is won. I was in Paris and in the Place de la Concorde on that armistice day in 1918 when we thought we had won a war to make the world safe for democracy, a place for heroes to live in. We were all deliriously glad and we certainly made plenty noise. But behind the noise and shouting there was a queer little uncertain feeling in everybody's heart. We were glad the killing was over, that there was no more danger, that we had won. But there was a kind of anti-climax about it all. The hope we had lived by so long had been realized and there was as yet no new hope to take its place. The objective we had set ourselves had been won and we went vaguely asking what next?

It is in that dangerous moment at the end of this war when the necessity for effort and discipline and union and patience is removed by the defeat of the Nazis that the real test of our worth will come. It is then that our weaknesses or our strength will show.

I am just a reporter. I am not of those who see visions and who dream dreams. It was as a reporter that I watched the quick fantastic collapse of the dreams and ideas and good intentions we all had in 1918 into the petty quarrels of the 20's, the impotency of the 30's and the calamity of 1939. I watched political rivalry and the egoism of men and nations destroy the strength of the allied union which Wilson had sought to perpetuate in the League of Nations. I watched rival idealisms tear each other to pieces so that finally even their supporters turned away in disgust to greedy selfish materialism. I watched the bankers and business men who wanted to organize life on a material basis, on what they called a sound economic and financial foundation, so quarrel about the right method that their effort became paralyzed and the victorious allies fell one by one into the dismal depression years.

I could, if I would, and with some knowledge, apportion the blame for these past catastrophies in the pontifical fashion which I observe among our intellectuals and political reformers who are quite sure that this time they know all the right answers.

But I prefer to read into the past a warning not to be lightly optimistic, and especially not to be pretentious about the future. Mankind has seldom gone forward into a greater unknown than the one that faces him when this war ends. Vaguely, and already we are all taking it for granted, we see the world being governed by that trinity of great powers, the British Empire, the Soviet Union and the United States of America and, with our fingers crossed, we keep trying to believe that it will be in agreement and not in rivalry that they will work out their destinies.

It is a fascinating, but it is also a frightening prospect. It is fascinating, as every new experiment is fascinating and it is certainly something very new to see Washington and Moscow taking a hand in an attempt at world government along with the countries of the British Empire and Commonwealth.

But it is also frightening, because, let us admit it frankly, the forces of idealism and egoism were never stronger in any than they are in each of these nations, while what are considered their material interests are so conflicting that it is only in amazement, and prayerfully, that we dare look ahead and hope that the plans and purposes outlined in the Moscow and Teheran declarations can ever be adhered to.

I think I would be less alarmed if these three great powers were not all within themselves in a constant, and just now almost feverish, process of adjustment and evolution. How can they make a stable world if they themselves are not stable. In every country of the Empire there is a discussion regarding its future organization and although we can be sure it will survive this storm we shall have to tread carefully and firmly. We must stick together or cease to be strong enough to be free.

The Soviet Union which was founded on the communist conception of equality of right and international peace has become the greatest military power not just of Europe but of Asia. The abolition of the Commintern and the official adoption of a new national anthem are only superficial indications of the immense changes which have been wrought under Stalin's rule, although our communists in other countries seem not yet to have noticed them. Hitler was sure that he could beat Communist Russia. This other authoritative disciplined Russia, where privelege by merit has taken the place of the communist idea, has beaten him.

And then there is the great individualistic republic of the United States, enormously wealthy in resources, throbbing with energy, invention and industry, constantly elated by some idealism as an escape from something which I have never been able to define and, despite its written constitution, which is so difficult to amend, capable of reversing its whole policy every fourth year, and this is one of them, in a Presidential election.

For God's sake let us begin by looking things squarely in the face and not go blindly into the future for a second time, playing with theory and make-believe.

This job of making peace with elements like these is going to be infinitely harder than has been the job of beating Hitler. It is going to be even more complicated if we exclude from our council tables the ancient civilizations of Europe, the Latin peoples with their long experience of life, who invented liberty, equality and fraternity, the Teutonic peoples—as we did last time because they were our enemies—and those other vital breeds of that little continent from which all our civilization is derived, although it is now the habit over here to criticize and look down on it in the way inexperienced and self-confident children criticize and look down on their elders.

I do not wish to be discouraging, but I have too long watched the ways of governments and peoples to believe that there is any short cut to Utopia. The truth is that we none of us really know what makes us tick as people and nations. All we can ever do is to go groping blindly along, feeling our way, and the only thing that is certain is that we shall all make mistakes, enormous mistakes like we did last time when we destroyed the ancient monarchic regime in Germany and Austria in the name of democracy, and so opened the road to the hysteria of Hitlerism, when in our effort to get rid of what was called the evil of the balance of power, we set up a system founded on the theory of national equality unsupported by force, which lived for some years in confusion and died in chaos, helped to that end by those who went on preaching, against all evidence, that disarmament was the best prevention against war.

I sometimes fear that we have already begun to make fatal mistakes by avoiding some issues, accepting compromise settlements for others, by judging cases with insufficient knowledge, and, as is the human habit, especially of elected governments, by following the line of least resistance and greatest opportunism.

But, just as three years ago I was bold enough to claim we can win this war I am ready to say today that we can win the peace. As a first step let us all get it into our heads and keep it there that none of us is winning the war alone, that separately we would all have lost it. Neither Russia nor the United States would have survived if Britain had gone down, Britain could not have won without the Empire and the others. We can none of us enter on any national ledger the dollars and cents spent to help someone else, or even the battles we fought and the lives sacrificed. They were all spent in one war. They are all just part of the price we have all paid to be delivered from the evil of Nazi rule.

If we begin to argue round the peace table in terms of nations instead of humanity, of national economy instead of world need, of interest instead of service, of regimes instead of people, of money instead of men's lives we will certainly clash again in another war, even more destructive than this, which has cost the life of Europe and come near destroying us all. But do we need to do that? The airmen of every nation who go out night after night and day after day over Germany, facing death until it comes, have set us high example of the new way we can and must think and live. They have no limited horizons, no narrow vision, no material aim. Often their crews consist of men of half a dozen nationalities. To them it is one war. It is their pride as men, each to do his best, and as a team to go together until the enemy is broken.

We who live far from the battle tend to see only our own part, to think only of our fellows and what they have done. But men in the line know that it has taken us all together to beat the Germans and it is going to take us all together, if we can manage it, to make and keep peace. It is going to be a slow business, a delicate business, possibly a harsh business for some. No one can predict what will happen, or trace exactly the road along which that stability which is peace will lie.

Thirty years of watching the ways of governments and men have taught me that the worst guides of all are often the most clamorous ones: the narrow nationalists, the doctrinaries, the moralists, the fanatical idealists, the easy optimists, the preachers of peace by disarmament, or isolation, of prosperity without toil, of social security without obligation, of life without effort.

These were the people who by their weakness gave Hitler his illusion of power and opportunity. They have not been conspicuous in the days of danger, but they are getting busy again.

Let us try to avoid false doctrines. It has been by clinging to the things we know to be true and sound that we have come through: our humble submission to the mystery of life and God's providence which we do not understand; our strong belief in the worth of every human individual, which rejects the servitude of the totalitarian state; our loyalty to tried institutions like this old but ever young Empire, which has assured safety in youth and ever increasing freedom in maturity to all its members; the companionship of men of good will, of all nationalities, and their power when armed and working together in a just cause.

It is these things that have carried us through to this year when we can hope for victory, and it is these which will, long after our time and our effort, carry humanity forward in that never ending pursuit of happiness which is happiness.

"BRITAIN SEES IT THROUGH"

AN ADDRESS BY

LIEUT.-COLONEL THE HON. GEORGE A. DREW,
PRIME MINISTER OF ONTARIO.

Chairman: The President, Mr. W. Eason Humphreys

Tuesday, January 11, 1944

MR. HUMPHREYS: An introduction to our distinguished guest of honour today is obviously unnecessary. Instead, and with your permission, I shall read to you two short letters written last August.

The first, written in the name of The Empire Club to Col. Drew, read as follows:

> "Dear Col. Drew:
>
> As a member and a Past President, you have always upheld the constitutional aim, traditions and non-partisanship of The Empire Club of Canada. We cannot, however, let your acclaim as Premier of the Province of Ontario pass without tendering to you congratulations, sincere good wishes and success for the task you are now called upon to perform.
>
> The Empire Club finds great satisfaction in your belief in the maintenance of the British connection.
>
> Our very best wishes,
>
> Sincerely yours"

Col. Drew replied:

> "Many thanks for your very kind letter of August 13th.
>
> I am very glad you approve of the course I am following in regard to the maintenance of the British connection and I appreciate your congratulations

more than I can say.

With kindest regards and all good wishes, believe me,

Yours sincerely,"

Gentlemen: The Honourable Geo. A. Drew, K.C., Premier of the Province of Ontario.

COLONEL DREW: It is just over two years since I had the honour of addressing The Empire Club on returning from Britain after an earlier trip when our prospects in the war and the situation in Britain itself were very different to what they are today. It is with special pleasure that I speak to The Empire Club and its guests because the main purpose of this Club is to do what it can to maintain the traditions and strengthen the ties between those nations and other areas which constitute the most remarkable world-wide fellowship of free people known to history.

What is Britain like in this fifth year of war? That question is not easy to answer. Returning after two years' absence, there are, however, a number of first impressions which remain very clearly in my mind. Most buildings, except the very old and the very new ones, are beginning to look somewhat shabby. No paint has been available for nearly four and a half years. Repairs have been limited to those which served some really useful purpose. On the other hand, the signs of destruction are less noticeable. In most cities, much of the bombs wreckage has been cleared away. Where there were twisted beams and huge piles of masonry are now in many cases tidy vacant lots very much like those which are used here for parking cars. Even the buildings which have been gutted by fire do not convey the thought of recent destructions. After all, buildings which were destroyed a thousand years ago, a hundred years ago, or two years ago, may all seem equally part of a distant past. And those days of widespread destruction in 1940 and 1941 do seem to be very much a part of the past. Even the deepest personal tragedies cease in time to be part of the material surroundings in which they occurred. In London, in Birmingham, in Edinburgh, in Cardiff, or in Belfast, there seems to be little thought of the possibility that Germany will ever again be able to mass the great bomber forces which did so much damage in those terrible years. To that extent, the war seems more remote.

That, however, is one of those first impressions which is apt to be so misleading. The great cities of Britain may seem less heroic than in days when the world thrilled to the stories of how London could take it. But the war is not farther away. On the contrary, it is part of their daily life—so much a part of it in fact that it is taken as a matter of course. The stranger may be surprised at the carefree gaiety of those who dance either at the fashionable restaurants of the West End or the little dance halls in the suburbs. Perhaps he will learn, however, that the good-looking pilot dancing with such enthusiasm was bombing Berlin last night and that his friend who has been sitting at the same table was fighting the Huns at forty-thousand feet over France only a few hours before. Or it may be that the gay lads in the navy blue who are having such fun could tell you something about the last moments of the Scharnhorst, if they cared to talk about anything so remote from their present surroundings. Those boys in khaki have been far from the Arctic ice. Their browned complexions and the African Star tell you that they have just returned from a Mediterranean trip with Montgomery. No! With all their gaiety the war is very close and soon it will be closer still. Those lads, whether in light blue, dark blue, or khaki, are waiting for another trip which they know will be a rough trip. But they are ready for whatever may come so long as their destination is Berlin. In the meantime, they have the good sense to be gay, and that I think is the gaiety of Britain at this hour.

About two weeks ago, I took a train from London to Southampton. Near the tracks as we passed through the country I saw a number of signs which seemed to me strangely appropriate. Perhaps some of you who know Hampshire well will remind me that those signs are advertisements for a well-known beverage. But that does not change the effect of the words. Shortly after leaving London, you read the words, "You are nearing the Strong Country." Later, you read, "You are entering the Strong Country." And finally in heavy letters, "This is the Strong Country." I think that if it were possible to reduce to a single sentence the deep impression left by the broad picture of the Britain of today, it could not be better described than in those simple words, "This is the Strong Country."

It is so different to what it was in 1941 when I was last there. The United States was not yet in the war. The Russian armies were retreating. Rommel was still a name to conjure with. Their confidence in ultimate victory really seemed to be based on little more than a passionate intuition that decency and justice must in the end prevail over the forces of evil. Now victory is no longer in doubt. When that great day arrives, whenever it may be, the people of Britain will be the first to acknowledge what they owe to the courage and tenacity of the Russians, and how much they depended on the United States for aircraft, ships and other vital supplies during the most critical hours of the war. But it is to be hoped that others will remember how much the whole world owes to the people of Britain for their resolution and fortitude in the black days of 1940 when they faced the storm alone. It may be easy to forget how much we all owe to them now that the tide of battle has turned unless we remember how unprepared the whole world was in 1940 to meet the Axis tide of conquest. Britain's strength today is apt to make people forget how relatively weak she was in those critical days. In that respect, we can well remember these words of Winston Churchill: "Few would have believed we could survive; none would have believed that we should today not only feel stronger but should actually be stronger than we have ever been before."

Today, Britain is the strong front line of the Western

World. The British Isles are, in fact, a mighty aircraft carrier where every level stretch of ground is an airport. 600,000 of the best acres of Britain are being used for landing fields. From those fields the air forces of the British Empire and the United States are striking at the heart of the enemy day and night. I think the word "raid" conveys the wrong impression. When 12,000 men and more fly over enemy territory in a single day, that is really a large scale attack even in terms ordinarily applied to land forces.

Perhaps there would be less chance for misunderstanding if it were better understood how very real the Western Front has been for some considerable time. The combing of German cities has forced the German air force to keep more than three-quarters of their fighter force between the coast and Berlin. For nearly two years the German air force have had less than a quarter of their fighter strength on the Russian front. The destruction of tank factories, fuel stores, armament plants, and technical installations has had a tremendous effect on the ability of Germany to maintain their armies on the Eastern Front. And, as for the effect on man power, there are at least a million men manning the air defences of Western Germany, quite apart from the men deployed to meet the threat of invasion. It is unlikely that bombing alone will bring victory, no matter how great the destruction may be, but at least it can be said that the bombing from Britain is making it possible for the final thrusts of the land forces to be swift and overwhelming.

Of one thing I am certain. No matter when the time for the great attack may come, no matter what the spirit of the German people may be, there can be no doubt about the fact that many of the German cities which produce vital war material have been devastated as few cities have been in all history. I recall brilliantly clear stereoptican pictures of one important German city which showed beyond all doubt that at least 90% of the buildings had been destroyed or completely gutted by fire. Other cities not quite so badly damaged must have been made uninhabitable for a large part of the population. In war, it does not make any real difference whether damage of that kind is done by great masses of artillery just outside the city or by a sudden deluge of bombs from the air. In either case, a point of destruction is finally reached when the time is ripe for the land assault.

In this mighty air barrage, the Royal Canadian Air Force with the Royal Air Force is playing a glorious role. Arguments appear from time to time about the comparative merits of day and night bombing. The truth is that each plays a vital part in the pattern of non-stop bombing. The Flying Fortresses of the U.S. Eighth Army Air Force are doing a magnificent job. It is a thrilling sight to see them roaring overhead in formation headed for France or Western Germany in bright sunlight. With their turbosuper chargers, it is possible for them to fly above the really effective range of anti-aircraft fire. But this demands a very much heavier fuel load than in the Lancasters, which at night can fly comparatively low with more than twice the bomb loads.

Each type has an important role, but as destruction can be measured fairly accurately in weight of bombs, the part played by the bombers of the combined British air forces operating out of Britain can best be measured by the simple fact that in 1943 they dropped exactly seven times the weight of bombs on Germany as were dropped by the bomber forces of the United States. No matter what may happen elsewhere, so far as the destruction of German war plants and German cities is concerned, that has been the special job of the Royal Air Force and the Royal Canadian Air Force.

I will never forget my visits to the bomber squadrons. A recall particularly one of the Canadian Pathfinder Squadrons which I visited on the 23rd of December. The crews were told that the raid was on Berlin, were shown the exact route the bombers would follow, and given their time of departure and time of arrival over the target. In the meantime, the bombers were being loaded. It is a somewhat terrifying sight to look up into the open bomb bay of a Lancaster and see the assortment of bombs they carry. A typical mixture would be one 4,000 pounder, four 1,000 pounders, and several thousand pounds more of assorted incendiaries and flares.

On that particular night the time of departure was shortly after midnight, which would get the bombers to Berlin about four o'clock in the morning. About eight o'clock, however, fast Mosquitos had carried out what in all the seriousness of official expression was called a "spoof" raid. The plan was to give the Germans the idea that Berlin had had its raid for the night so that they would not be ready for the real attack. That was exactly what happened and when the mighty Lancasters arrived at four the fighters were not on the job and it took some time for the anti-aircraft to get into action. As a result, only eleven machines were lost that night of the very large raiding force which went over.

It was a thrilling sight to see them coming back still in the darkness about seven o'clock. It had been still more thrilling as we waited in the Control Room while one by one the returning bombers reported on the wireless telephone and the cool and efficient girls at the controls guided them in. It was a lucky night for that Canadian squadron. They all came back and when the last machine reported "Over", you could see the relief and rejoicing on everyone's face.

When the crews come in from a raid, they give their reports immediately to Intelligence Officers who are trained to digest the information they receive. It was a wonderful sight to see these young men from all parts of Canada working as a magnificent fighting team. Each crew of six came in together, got a cup of tea, and then told what they had seen. They were cool, earnest, and efficient. Theirs is an exacting job calling for the highest form of courage and technical skill. Their work develops a great sense of responsibility. There are no finer young men in the world than these lads of ours who go out night after night on their deadly and dangerous missions into Germany.

They are creating the conditions under which victory over Germany in 1944 is possible if those at home do their part in supplying them and all the rest of our armed forces with the weapons, aircraft, ships and supplies that are still so urgently required. That I would like to emphasize. We have not yet placed in the hands of our fighting men all the aircraft, landing barges and equipment of various types that they need. As you see those young men going out to face death night after night, you realize how far short of our duty all of us will fall unless we can say honestly that we have put total effort behind their total sacrifice.

The thing that constantly impresses itself on your mind as you visit airport after airport is the fact that this is a war not only of highly trained men but also of science and design. The full story of that part of the war cannot be told until after it is over. But one of the most significant things about this war has been the number of scientific developments which have had a decisive bearing on the course of the war.

Had radio location not been invented and developed in Britain before the war began, it is doubtful if the few fighters available in 1940 could have beaten off the Nazi Air Armada in spite of the sublime courage of our men. If British scientists had not almost overnight discovered a device for neutralizing first the magnetic and then the accoustic mine, the story of shipping and supplies would have been very different. The Spitfire is still the best all round fighter in the world. Those who boasted in Germany of the way they had harnessed their great scientific skill to their war machine may well exclaim today as they look across the North Sea to Britain:

> "O Star-eyed Science; hast thou wandered there
> to waft us home the message of despair."

Yes, Science is carrying home to Germany the bitter message of despair and Canada has played a great part in making those mircles of scientific skill which guide our Pathfinder Squadrons unerringly to the target which they then indicate with coloured flare bombs marking the target clear for the bombers which follow with their devastating loads of a thousand tons or more. Right here on the outskirts of Toronto there is a factory, built since the war began, which is fashioning those uncanny eyes which pierce darkness and clouds and direct our bomb loads with deadly accuracy on the vital nerve centres of the German war machine.

However, in all the justifiable pride we should feel that our workers and industrial leaders have been able to adjust themselves with such success to the demands of war, we would be missing the most important lesson of these past few years if we failed to realize that our success and the very great contributions we have been able to make to the common cause were to a very considerable degree the result of our partnership with Britain, which has made available for our workshops the plans and patterns growing out of their long years of designing skill and scientific research.

On all sides in Britain today you see stirring evidence of the tremendous vitality of their people. Perhaps a few facts might be recalled. They designed and built the best fighter in the world, the best heavy bomber, and the best and fastest light bomber. And now the British invention of an entirely new type of propulsion for aircraft is likely to revolutionize commercial as well as military aircraft production. I talked to scientists in Britain who believed that jet propulsion will become an accepted part of aircraft design in a few years for all types of aircraft, because of the elimination of vibration and engine sound. Quite apart from the remarkable nature of this achievement is the fact that this is merely another proof that even under the pressure of war and the heavy drain on manpower, the brains of Britain were never more vigorous and never more productive than they are today.

I am sure you have read as I have that the British people are getting tired. I could see no evidence of it. I think there may be many cases of individual exhaustion from overwork as there will be in any country. I think that to many people the blackout for the fifth year has become depressing.

We must, of course, remember that they have been under a much greater strain that we have been. The best proof of how far they have been prepared to go in total use of their manpower is furnished by the recent decision to draw a certain number of men by lot for the mines from those drafted for military service. Nor is their total use of manpower confined to men. Nine out of every ten unmarried women between 18 and 40 are in full-time work, either in the services, in industry, or farming. But in spite of this heavy strain, I am convinced that the people of Britain are not exhausted and have never been stronger or more vigorous physically and mentally than they are today.

The powers of compulsion resting in the hands of the Minister of Labour are enormous. But they have been used sparingly because the people themselves are demanding the last ounce of effort to bring the war to an end. All but a very few welcome direction into whatever field of work will best contribute to victory. That is part of the miracle of Britain. They were divided and unprepared when war came. Today they are using their manpower with greater effect than any other nation in the world and they are doing it as a great team. Again, with the few exceptions that only prove the rule, there is political and national unity uneuqalled in any other democracy.

That all grows from a sense of equality of service and equality of sacrifice. From the humblest home to Buckingham Palace, all know that everyone in Britain is fighting total war for total victory. Never was the ancient monarchy stronger than it is today. The King and Queen have won the love and respect of all by the full part they have played through dark as well as brighter days. They have shared the dangers. They have comforted the afflicted. They have in their own family life given an example of the happiness and stability under strain which is so much a part of the decent things we are fighting for.

Britain is getting ready for peace in the same spirit of unity. They are far along the road of post-war planning, reconstruction and education. Nothing is permitted to divert their attention from the main task of winning the war but they look upon preparation for the days after victory as part of victory itself.

From every point of view, Britain today is a partner of whom we Canadians have reason to be proud. Side by side let us march forward with equal conviction into the years of peace. Britain is also a partner that will bring us the greatest business opportunities. Britain was our best customer before the war. Britain will be an even better customer when the war is over and they start to carry out their great rebuilding and reconstruction program. As business partners and as friends, let us join hands to meet the problems of peace as we have combined to surmount the deadly peril of war. May I quote from Shakespeare to express my thoughts:

> "Further this act of grace; and from this hour,
> The heart of brothers govern in our loves
> And sway our great designs!"

No picture of Britain today would be complete without some reference to Winston Churchill. More than ever before he seems to be the very embodiment of the spirit of Britain. I was there when it was announced that he had pneumonia again. His health immediately became everybody's concern. From the highest to the lowest the question on everybody's tongue was "How's Winston?" Seldom in all history has any man so captured the imagination of his people.

In rejoicing with them that he is well on the way to recovery and will soon be saying the things that they, and we, would like to hear, I do not think I can do better than to close these remarks with lines written by Arthur Guiterman some years ago, because I think they so clearly express the feelings of the people of Britain toward him at this hour.

"When others could falter, faint-hearted and hollow,
He caught up our banner, he rallied our might;
And glad were the hearts of the young men to follow
The leader who laughed in the heat of the fight.

We called him to aid us when evil assailed us,
And still as our champion, still in the van
He battles, the Captain who never yet failed us,
Clear-sighted, true-hearted, Thank God for a Man!"

"SHARING THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF EMPIRE"

An Address By

THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON A. P. GOWER-REES, ARCHDEACON OF MONTREAL.

Chairman: The President, Mr. W. Eason Humphreys

Thursday, January 13, 1944

Mr. Humphreys: Our guest of honour is Naval Chaplain in Montreal. Jan Christian Smuts said it: "I look upon this Empire and Commonwealth as the best missionary enterprise that has been launched for a thousand years."

That assertion, gentlemen—deemed by most to be true—imposes upon every citizen of this Commonwealth responsibility for upholding the great enterprise so vital to our near and distant future.

Our guest of honour, the Venerable Archdeacon A. P. Gower-Rees, M.A., D.C.L., M.C., speaks to us today on "Sharing the Responsibilities of Empire". Archdeacon Gower-Rees has spoken on this subject to many clubs both in the Dominions and in the United States.

Our guest was called to Canada in 1927, and is at present Archdeacon of Montreal and Rector of St. George's.

Graduating from Christ's College, Cambridge, he was ordained in York Minster, and became Canon of Bradford Cathedral and also Rector of Bolton in Yorkshire.

For four and a half years during the last war he was in France, Bergium and Germany, and was Deputy Assistant Chaplain-General of the Army of Occupation. He preached, too, in Cologne Cathedral after the signing of the Treaty of Versailles.

Archdeacon Gower-Rees was awarded the Military Cross, and was twice mentioned in despatches. He was also awarded the Meritorious Service Medal of the Legion of Frontiersmen and is Senior Commandant Chaplain of the Corps of Imperial Frontiersmen. Gentlemen: The Venerable Archdeacon Gower-Rees.

DR. GOWER-REES: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: It is because you are members of a Club that claims special interest in all matters that concern the welfare of the Empire, that I venture to discuss with you today what may be called an Imperial subject. The war is so much with us that to some it may seem an inopportune moment for such a subject. Concentration on the needs and prosecution of the war is admittedly most important, and wisdom dictates that everything else should be put off till the morrow, if it need not absolutely be done today. But the Imperial problem, or call it by its better name, the problem of the British Commonwealth is, like that of the war itself, urgent at once in its vital character, its complex nature, and in the need for early prevision. It is our duty to know how great the complexities of the Empire are without delay. The rulers within the Empire may at any moment be faced with the need for taking final decisions, or still more difficult, for action on seemingly small matters that may yet lead to decisive results. The need for careful consideration of Imperial problems is very urgent. The ringing challenge of the "explosive" ideas expressed by one of the greatest statesmen in the British Commonwealth, Prime Minister Jan Christian Smuts of South Africa, calls for immediate consideration and due preparation for action.

As a firm believer in the maintenance and strengthening of the British Empire, he frankly warns us of the existing defects and weaknesses of the Empire's Colonial system; and advises definite changes by which the Dominions will assume larger responsibilities "as sharers and partners in the Empire" and thus "create fresh links between the Empire and the Commonwealth and create new interest and life in the system as a whole". He offers his suggestions to us all, in order that we may, before it is too late, strive towards the achievement of a firmer solidarity within the Empire whereby it will really become an "equal" in the partnership or "trinity of equals" upon which the responsibility will rest to maintain peace in the world when the present conflict is ended.

Before I proceed further may I here say a word about the words "Empire" and "Commonwealth". Most of the controversies which sunder men derive half their bitterness from misunderstanding about words. Words are but labels for ideas and as people's grasp of ideas is ever changing, so does the meaning they attach to the words by which they present them. There is no word more misused or about which there is a wider divergence of interpretation in the popular mind than the word "Empire," or rather, the word "Imperialism". Those words have been so loosely and so falsely used that they have acquired with many people a bad connotation. You cannot read a book nor listen to a discussion on the subject without becoming aware that its opponents and its supporters are at hopeless cross purposes. To one side Imperialism implies the worst kind of Prussianism. To the other it represents the loftiest ideals of chivalry, and the gift of peace, order, and education to the oppressed peoples. It has become the general practice now, when speaking of the British Empire to substitute the word "Commonwealth" for Empire. I believe that Commonwealth is the better and truer word to use. I am bold enough to believe that with many lapses and failures, those who have guided the destinies of the British Empire, created not an Empire but a Commonwealth.

It is not easy to define wherein a Commonwealth consists. A Commonwealth cannot exist among a people whose government depends upon unquestioning obedience to authority, whether it is secured by terrorism inspired by armed force, or by the sedulous inculcation into the subjects that disobedience is impious and wicked. Nor can it exist among people organized on the principle of limited liability on the basis that society is merely a makeshift for controlling the otherwise destructive propensities of its members. A Commonwealth bases its communal life squarely on the principle that every citizen has an unlimited duty of helping every other citizen, that it exists to maintain or promote self-government among its peoples, and that the society it fosters will be healthy only in so far as its members are governed, not by the calculations of intelligent selfishness, but by the law of love. The British Empire is a Commonwealth because for the last 130 years its policy has been modelled more or less on that principle.

The British Commonwealth indeed has come into being, not through any consciously Imperialistic design, not, as Seeley said, in a fit of absence of mind, or by accident, but because it has supplied the needs of the people within it. Where chaos or tyranny or callous exploitation, or perpetual war and robbery reigned before, it has established peace, order and justice. Under its protection one quarter of the people of the earth live in peace. It guarantees to every individual of whatever race or color, an equal liberty before the law. It protects them from devastation from without and from disorder within. It bridges, in its laws and institutions, the gulf between East and West, between white and black, between race and race. It is even able to give full liberty to nationalism and yet combine it with loyalty to a greater Commonwealth. To all it promises not good government only, but eventual self-government. Its whole purpose is to ensure that every citizen may lead the fullest and freest life, consistent with the acknowledgement and discharge of his duties to the rest of the four hundred million human beings who are his fellow citizens. It is easy to point to defects in its administration and its institutions. The room for improvement and progress is infinite. None the less the British Commonwealth of Nations does, in its imperfect human way, meet an essential human need, and that is why it exists, and why it must continue to exist. If we wish for further testimony to this fact we have only to look at the marvellous spectacle of unity and enthusiasm for its defence which all its peoples have manifested in the past four years of war.

DUTY OF EMPIRE

The word "Duty" has played a great part in the upbuilding of our British Empire. In the past it has inspired our greatest statesmen, sailors and soldiers; the pursuit of it has given them their most enduring fame; it has been the trumpet call to which the rank and file of our people have responded most certainly and most heartily in times of national emergency or prolonged strain.

We see the loud call it makes today to the men and women in the King's forces who are ready at its bidding to face great issues of life and death; inspiring also with a new energy our vast armies of industries. We see it bracing up our people to bear financial burdens such as never before have been thought of; to bear them too for other nations less able to make contributions to the common cause.

If personal duty of the citizen to the community is our main reliance for winning our way successfully through this greatest crisis of our existence as an Empire, it is a deepened sense of national duty to other nations which will enable us to reap the noblest and most enduring fruits of victory, which, however much delayed, we anticipate. It will be the surest guarantee for the maintenance of the Empire.

Out of the Armageddon into which we have been plunged, the nations, victors and vanquished alike, will emerge exhausted and chastened beyond precedent; bereaved in their homes, burdened with debt, confronted with the utmost difficulties in fixing penalties, reconciling race interests, arranging new boundaries, healing the wounds that industry has suffered, and generally reconstructing the dislocated machinery of ordinary life. Above all for each one of them a revision of national outlook is inevitable: a review of the spiritual forces which give impulse and guidance to all powerful nationality.

New values will be given to national ideals, to national pledges, to the true limits of national ambition, to the right direction of national energy. It is the nation which gets these new ideals and values most truly fixed that will gain the most from the war. We know that when the war is over we shall be definitely poorer through the wastage of precious lives. Shall we find compensation in a new and grander outlook of national purpose, a reconsecration of all we have to the service of the world? Shall we find the moral moorings of our nation strengthened for the new strain which is sure to be put upon it in the years to come? This is the interrogation we must answer at the bar of history. What the individual owes to the nation, the nation with its larger outlook owes to the world. If we, the peoples of the British Commonwealth, are to measure this sense of duty we shall find it great indeed.

II. Our Position in the World

Let us try to put before ourselves as briefly as possible, what our position is and what these responsibilities mean. Only thus can we grasp the wide reach of our obligations as an Empire. In following our race instincts, and in the course of our national development we have gained a position and accepted responsibilities without any precedent in the whole course of human history.

First, let us think of *Canada,* covering one-half of the Continent of North America, and with an area equal to that of Europe. Already Canada has consolidated into a powerful state of over eleven million people, with every prospect of a future as great as that of the United States, and with the assured vigor of a Northern race. Next in *Australia* we have a whole continent, once more the size of Europe—now politically-minded and with its wonderful sunshine and extraordinary natural resources, attracting from every quarter of the globe a population to which it gives a stamp of almost unequalled energy and enterprise.

Farther out in the Pacific is *New Zealand,* with about the same area as the Motherland, and the same maritime outlook, with a climate, a fertility of soil, and a variety of production which make it one of the most desirable homes and nurseries of our British races that have anywhere been found. Next *South Africa,* in extent equal to the combined areas of several European countries—and endowed with some of nature's greatest storehouses of wealth.

These Dominions—*Canada* resting on the Atlantic and Pacific, *Australia* and *New Zealand* upon the Pacific and Indian Oceans and *Sowth Africa* upon the Indian and Atlantic—form with the Motherland itself, a quadrilateral of maritime position and potential growth which it is difficult for the imagination to grasp.

Smaller colonies and naval stations in the East and West Indies and scattered over the oceans link together these great units. There still remain the great dependencies—*India* which is graduating in the principles and practice of self-government; with East, West and Central Africa where 30 millions or more backward races depend on us for guidance into the paths of civilization.

It takes a vivid imagination to fill up the details of a picture thus roughly outlined when we add further territories that were incorporated in the Empire after the last war. Never was such a burden of responsibility laid upon any nation or race in the course of history. But responsibility deliberately assumed, furnishes the true and only adequate measure of duty.

Our right to hold this astonishing and unprecedented position in the world has been openly challenged; our power to hold it, is now being tested for the second time within a quarter of a century by the tremendous arbitrament of war. In the mere contest of strength and endurance we believe we shall succeed. But something more than superior strength and material success is required to establish our right conclusively.

The very essence of the claim made by ourselves and our allies is our denial of the right of force alone to control the destinies of the world. We must give convincing proof that we hold as an Empire, the place we have gained in *trust* for the good of the world, and not merely to satisfy our own selfish interests. To give that convincing proof will be no easy task. The path of highest duty is ever a difficult one to travel. Lord Rosebery on a notable occasion said, "With all its mistakes and shortcomings the British Empire is the greatest secular agency for good that exists in the world". In that conviction lies the explanation of the wonderful rally of every unit of the Empire to the support of the flag which represents our British ideals,—Self-governing Dominions, dependencies and colonies.

United Nations

But the war has produced other results which may well give us pause in putting our trust solely in ideals peculiar to our own people. We find ourselves fighting side by side with other nations; each devoted to its own conceptions of national life; each ready to suffer and sacrifice anything for their maintenance. Today while each is fighting in defence of what it considers its own highest interest, all are lifted up into a higher atmosphere of co-operation in guarding the largest interests of civilization and humanity. All are pledged to act together in giving security to those interests when the final settlement comes.

It seems to me that this situation presents an opportunity that has never occurred before, that may never occur again, for the British Empire to take a definite lead. Our wider outlook on the world, our contact with almost every civilized and uncivilized people, our settled institutions, the fact that we have already absorbed other nationalities into our system, our readiness to give an equality of opportunity to all men who come to us and accept our principles of life and government; all these things give us an unequalled advantage for leadership in affecting this great change of national attitude between the nations of the world.

Foremost among the tasks that will face the Empire after the war, I am inclined to put the *political organization of the Empire.* And that I believe was the point

General Smuts emphasized in his recent warning to the Empire. We owe that duty to the world as well as to ourselves. The course of this war has made it fairly evident that the British Empire, even in its loosely organized condition, is the rock upon which the wild dreams of German ambition have been shattered in two wars. Without the resistance of the British Empire, it looks as if the German programme for dominating continental Europe would have been carried out. The vials of hate poured out upon us indicate that this is also the German view.

The barrier against aggressive force which has served this temporary purpose in this present struggle will be strengthened and made permanent. This war has cleared the path of statesmanship to an Empire united in fact as well as name; linked together by common interests; controlled by common policy; inspired by common democratic aims. The policy before us is clear and definite. It is to reconcile autonomy in the control of the interests peculiar to each self-governing unit of the Empire with the common responsibility for what concerns them all. If that problem is not solved the fault will lie either in incapacity and want of vision in statesmen, or with the ignorance and indifference of that public opinion which gives policy its motive power.

There are people, not all Germans, who picture our Empire as a greedy monster, which has as a settled policy for some centuries seized every part of the world on which it can lay its hands, and clings tenaciously to it in the sheer lust of imperial power. It would be difficult to convince Germans in their present attitude of mind how false that picture is; but that it is false can be amply proved. It is not much more than eighty years since the leading statesmen of Britain, backed up by what then seemed predominant public opinion, were willing and almost anxious, that those colonies which have since grown into the great Dominions, should separate themeslves as independent states. It was deemed an honour to have given birth to free communities; it was considered a disadvantage and weakness to hold them in unwilling bonds. There is a Bill in existance, drawn up in the early sixties of the last century by one of the most distinguihsed lawmakers of England, in consultation with prominent statesmen of the time—a Bill prepared in every detail for submission to Parliament, providing for the resolute separation of the great self-governing colonies from the Motherland. That does not look as if greed of territory and lust of world power has been the permanent policy of the British Empire.

Many of you will know what a determined effort was required, what years of strenuous teaching was needed to resist that tendency, and make British people, both in Britain and in the colonies understand the higher destiny that might be achieved by continued union.

The argument by which that change of national purpoes was affected was not based on ideas of aggression, on plans for world dominance or for thrusting our British culture on unwilling nations, small or great: It aimed at peace; at keeping safe the channels of commerce for the whole world; at giving security for the free development on their own lines of the younger nations that the British Empire had founded. What that change of purpose and policy has meant to the Motherland and the whole British Commonwealth of Nations, we are only now beginning to understand.

Under the policy of eighty years ago, the Dominions would have become separate states exposed to separate attack, without the power to resist or be neutral. They would have been unable to combat the greatest and most subtly planned attack on human liberty that history records. Instead of that we see Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa contributing of their available manhood, material wealth and services to share in the great struggle; every smallest colony is sending the best it has to give in men and material.

The arrogant aggressiveness of the German menace has crystallized the will of all our peoples in the Empire into a united purpose more effectually than a century of ordinary political evolution could have done. It is now the business of statesmen to give constitutional form to that common will as a safeguard for the future. Again, it is just that, that the far sighted Prime Minister of South Africa now asks for, and submits practical suggestions for a revision or the organization for the management of the Empire. As I understand his proposals, he simply asks that the great Dominions of the Empire be permitted to shoulder a larger share of the responsibility in that management. Throughout the now powerful self-governing Dominions there is everywhere evident a wonderful willingness to assume a larger and fairer share of the white man's burden.

FUTURE PROBLEMS

In conclusion may we take a brief glance at the problems which will confront us in the future. The first concerns the relations to one another of the self-governing nations of the Commonwealth. After the War is over the peoples of the Dominions will rightly ask for a larger share in the management of the Empire, and in the vital decisions concerning the issues of war and peace. The war has revealed the need for such a sharing of power and responsibility. There can be no true union of self-governing nations within the Commonwealth unless they are all ready to place control of purely Imperial affairs to a new and representative Imperial Council. We do not doubt for a moment that each self-governing Dominion with the Motherland, will eagerly carry out their respective parts of an arrangement necessary to the continued unity and stability of the Commonwealth.

The second concerns the attitude of the Motherland and the Dominions to the dependencies. The people of the dependencies, and especially India, will certainly ask and even press for their demand for some formal definition of their status within the Commonwealth, and for some further advance towards self-government. Indeed, they are doing it now. And they will urge in support of their demands that they have taken their share in defending the integrity of our common state, and have shown that they appreciate and understand the principles which give it life. This is true. Things can never be after the war, what they were before. We need not hazard exact prophecies as to what ought and what can be done. But we can say that whatever steps are taken will be in the direction of helping the peoples of the dependencies to govern themeslves as rapidly as possible. Nothing else is consonant with the principles to which we subscribe. This is not to solve the problem. The question of how to adjust a continuous progress towards self government with the welfare of all the peoples, not only in India, but of the rest of the Commonwealth is perhaps, the most difficult of all the problems which confront us. The solution of it will be found only in so far as we keep resolutely in front of our eyes the welfare of the whole. If the Indian peoples continue to remember the responsibilities as well as the rights which liberty carries in its train, and if the self-governing peoples remember that the purpose of the Commonwealth is to promote the development of all its members, and are able to fire the imagination of the non-self-governing peoples with their own ideals, a way will be found.

Finally, one word about foreign affairs. We cannot appreciate the full significance of the British Commonwealth, or the full importance of the closer unity of its peoples until we consider their relations with the outside world. The British Commonwealth is the standing denial of the doctrines which have caused the devastation of Europe in this war. It is a living proof that unity comes not of force, but of justice and law, not of self-concentration but of mutual service. It proves no less, that peace is the fruit, not of jealousy and selfishness; but of a brotherhood which can transcend the narrower claims of race and nationality and color. If it were to break up, it would be the greatest calamity which could befall mankind. Indeed the full fruition of the principles on which it rests, will not be realized until through the voluntary association with other Commonwealths it has come to include all the peoples of the earth.

All hopes of human unity and of universal peace, therefore, depend upon its surviving not only the shocks of this colossal war, but the subtler dissensions which may endanger its afterwards. If it does so, the secret springs of its strength cannot fail to impress the minds of other men and peoples searching, after the carnage of war, for the principles that will give them and the rest of mankind, freedom, justice, peace. What those principles are we have seen. If we are to save ourselves, still more, if we are to help other nations, we must see to it that we, the citizens of the British Commonwealth of Nations, are not less faithful to them in the future than we have been in the past.

"TOWN PLANNING"

An Address By

PROF. ERIC R. ARTHUR.

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eason Humphreys.

Thursday, January 20, 1944

Mr. Humphreys: There has been much planning for war. It is not too early perhaps to explore possibilities for the art of living in times of peace.

The progress of the intelligence of man is very slow in some matters. For instance, for over nineteen hundred years man has pulled his shirt over his head. It is only during the last few years that he discovered that it could be opened down the front.

Professor Eric R. Arthur, M.A., Bachelor of Architecture, A.R.I.B.A., will undoubtedly stimulate our intelligence when, in a minute, he addresses us on "Town Planning".

Professor Arthur was born and partially educated in New Zealand, afterwards attending Liverpool University in England. He is a Lord Kitchener National Memorial Scholar, and Holt Travelling Scholar. While in England he was on the staff in London of Sir Edwin Lutyens.

Now, Canada benefits from Professor Arthur's great professional ability, for he is Professor of Architectural Design, University of Toronto. Our guest is also editor of the Journal of The Royal Architectural Institute of Canada.

Professor Arthur's most notable accomplishments are the Dewsbury War Memorial in Yorkshire, England; Canada Packers' Plants in Edmonton and Vancouver; and, by the way, he received the Gold Medals, 1937, from The Royal Architectural Institute of Canada and the

Toronto Chapter of the Ontario Association for the most outstanding building of the year—it being Canada Packers' Plant at Edmonton.

Prof. Arthur is author, too. *Small House of the Late 18th and Early 19th Century in Ontario* is one of his books. Another is *Old Forts in Upper Canada.* In the last war, our guest served as private with the New Zealand Rifle Brigade.

Gentlemen: Profesosr Eric R. Arthur, his subject: "Town Planning".

Professor Arthur: Town Planning is rather a vast topic to discuss at a luncheon address, but as it deals, to some extent, with the causes of urban indigestion and their cure, it may not be so inappropriate a subject. As a matter of fact, it is particularly appropriate at this time because the Report of the City Planning Board in Toronto is now before the City Council and the evidence of its labours over the past year is on exhibition at the Art Gallery.

The exhibition, with the report that accompanies it, is a very significant one, and its influence will extend far beyond the Toronto region. Its significance far transcends any value it may have as a plan of future development, and its publication will stimulate and encourage every municipality in Canada. It is no exaggeration to say that the newspaper discussion, whether favourable or unfavourable, that the report has brought forth will not go unnoticed in the halls of Queen's Park and Ottawa. Across Canada, today, there are earnest groups of citizens, and equally earnest Municipal Councils all studying Town Planning, and the majority of them are without guidance and without leadership. They all look forward to a post war world in which their community will be a happier and better place to live in, and they are in deadly earnest in their desire to provide employment in the immediate post war years. They look back with fear at that dark period in our history when we dug holes only to fill them in, and they are determined that such an orgy of waste shall not happen again. These citizens have more than an instinctive feeling that Town Planning is the greatest single thing that they can embark on in wartime, if the horrors of war are not to be followed by the horrors arising out of unemployment in an unplanned peace.

Toronto, then, is at the head of a crusade. It is one of two or three cities in Canada that can say to its citizens that, if the very worst befalls us, and an economic collapse occurs, we have a scheme of public works, each one of which will not only provide work, but will contribute to the dignity and beauty of the city and the happiness of its citizenry. On the brighter side, if the post war years fall into the pattern of peace and security for which we all hope, we shall be able to proceed, on the immediate cessation of hostilities, with a programme of works that will put Toronto well in the forefront of North American cities for the excellence of its residential areas, the convenience of its industries, the dignity of its urban centre and the beauty of its recreational areas.

Unfortunately, this handsome child of the City Planning Board is stillborn and can only be brought to life by Federal Financial Assistance, Provincial Legislation and, last but not least, the firm conviction of the people of Toronto that it is worth doing. This last point is of such importance that I shall spend some few minutes, with your permission, explaining the need for planning in this and other Canadian cities.

At the time of Confederation the cities of Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Regina, Saskatoon, Verdun, Sydney, Fort William, Moose Jaw and others did not exist. The City of Winnipeg was a Hudson's Bay Post with a population of 200. Moncton was a hamlet of 500 souls. Only three cities had a population of over 50,000 and they were Montreal 130,833, Quebec 59,600 and Toronto 59,000. Ottawa, after one-half a century as Bytown boasted 20,000, and Halifax with the advantage of near 120 years previous existence had a population of 30,000. These colonial towns that we had, were planned originally by military engineers, and were as tidy as a military camp.

Commerce and what industry there was, segregated, or was of such charm and scale that its presence went unnoticed; and residential areas were fixed and unviolated by buildings put to non-compatible uses. Had it been possible for the colonial town, with its simple economy, to grow by natural increase of population, and without violent disturbance, they would still be orderly, decent places in which to live. The Industrial Revolution changed that peaceful picture, and, in the second half of the nineteenth century, we see our Canadian cities growing in a casual, unplanned fashion in which profit, rather than the general good, became the basis of urban and suburban growth. The cities, and the lure of work at higher wages, took young people away from the farms in such numbers that municipalities were quite unprepared for them. In 1880 the urban population of the United States represented 10 per cent of the total population while today it is 56 per cent. In Canada the urban population is 53.7 per cent and in 1880 25.6. Our worst slums in Toronto were built in that period of uncontrolled growth when every foot of land was sweated, and the residences of the poor existed cheek by jowl with industry. Movement of population, in any volume, from the country has now been completed—in fact we may see the reverse take place, in some degree, after the war. It is the view of most planners in the United States that internal migration will, in the future, between cities, not to them, or from rural areas.

The advent of the railways added to the general confusion, and they are today, with the industries which flank them, our greatest barriers to orderly planning. The advantages of railway transportation were so great, that, in spite of the protests of certain citizens and alternative plans which they produced, the railways were allowed to ride rough shod over our areas of greatest natural beauty, or even, as in Oshawa, down the main street. With them came round houses and industry, heavy, light and noxious occupying an area in Toronto in the path of the prevailing south-west wind. It is not generally realized how large a part railway terminals play in the urban scene—how much blight they cause, and how the results of poor planning on their part have complicated the whole urban plan. In this city we have the evidence of poor planning in two monumental examples. The C.P.R. folly on Yonge St. blossomed into a brief, but spectacular new life, with the arrival of Their Majesties in 1939, and has since been put to the service of the public in a manner not considered by its designers. It is probably forgotten that the old red brick Union Station was built, and became obsolete, in the lifetime of many in this room. It was built in 1895. In the absence of a master plan for the city as a whole, the new station was built in 1927 on its present unhappy site, and has, within that short period, proved wholly inadequate for its multitudinous functions. A site for its successor, in a democratic society, which has advanced beyond the pioneer stage of development will some day be not the sole problem of the railroads, but of the City Council through its City Planning Board.

High real estate taxation and the deterioration of urban residential areas for the various causes I have given, have brought about a flight to the suburbs. In any large city we can trace those migrations of people that lead them ever forth in search of sunlight and fresh air. From the point of view of the architect, and without title deeds or the like to help him, the old colonial centre of Toronto is easily traceable. I could show you in a short walk of this room some splendid old houses dating back from 1817 to 1930. I could show you the Third Toronto P.O., a modest frame shack with a charming front door. From there, we could walk to a later P.O., now the Bank of Canada, which is only a stone's throw from the present P.O. In any scheme of reconstruction I would give a high priority to the rebuilding of that obsolescent structure, which has neither beauty nor age to justify its existence in any capital city. Going further afield, we could see evidence in the Annex and Rosedale of the first great flight of citizens. The Annex makes feeble, but usually effective, protests against the intrusion of gasoline stations, but its inhabitants know that unless something is done, deterioration of the district will accelerate as the city moves further north. We might take side trips to those streets once restricted to the well-to-do on Jarvis Street, St. George and Simcoe Streets and see that new uses are everywhere apparent. And so we could go on through Moore Park, Forest Hill Village, North Toronto, all still new, until we come to the last refuge of the escapist, of singing birds and trees, of rabbits and all the joys of a rural existence—Bayview. We are inclined to forget that the same pleasures were once enjoyed in their turn by the people on Queen Street, Bloor, St. Clair and Eglington Avenue.

In all these processes affecting your way of living and mine, Town Planning was of a piecemeal, opportunist kind, and not a little was merely subdivision of land by real estate speculators. As a result we are criminally overbuilt and poorly planned. It is not in the nature of land subdivision for profit to allocate areas within the subdivision for parks. Private philanthropy, such as Mr. Howard's gift of High Park in Toronto, has saved us from the ignominy of being a city without regard to the needs of our citizens in their leisure hours, but even with that handsome benefaction and of Allen Gardens and smaller gifts, we are, on an estimate of minimum need, 672 acres short of open space in Toronto.

There were two alternatives for the Toronto City Planning Board in laying its programme for 1943. It could have adopted the short-sighted view of the city as it is today, and prepared a plan in which jogs were corrected, streets were widened and areas marked for condemnation and rebuilding. Even a programme of such limited dimensions would cost millions, and a wiser Board of 1953 would proceed with a programme in which half, or all our labours would prove useless, if not an actual handicap, to orderly development. Instead, the Board acting on its instructions from Council to prepare a master plan, assumed, first of all, that the strategic position of Toronto would inevitably lead to its continued growth. The citizens of 1973 will know how closely we came, in our estimated population of one and a half millions. That figure represents a growth by natural increase or other means of 600,000 persons.

Probably the most striking elements in the new plan are the inner green belt and the boundary of agricultural land. The inner belt averages 2,000 feet in width and limits the growth of what is approximately the existing city. Its location is determined by the natural valleys of the Don and the Humber, and its area is 2,500 acres. Inside that area we can expand and replan but the Green Belt itself is zoned as a park for all time. Not all of it will be owned by the city, but it will always serve as an area of green trees and grass, and a barrier against unnecessary further building in the city proper. Beyond the Green Belt is another belt, this time of residential areas and industry embracing all the outside municipalities with ample room for expansion. Their growth is also limited (in our total population of $1,500,000) by a line beyond which is agricultural land, zoned and protected against residential subdivision. The criminal destruction of agricultural land by land speculators is a characteristic feature of periphery of all cities on this continent. Wilson Avenue, Sheppard Avenue and stretches of Dufferin Street are sordid examples of the kind of thing to which I refer.

Inside the agricultural boundary and effecting the whole city, new arteries have been planned for east and west and north bound traffic. These super highways connect with present or projected provincial highways. The subject of rapid transit in Toronto raises political issues, but so does sewage. It is possible to over-estimate in any city the number of persons in the post war period who will use plastic or rocket cars or even the common garden variety we have today. We know how long it takes to go to work, or return home in the evening by street car or motor car. We know that the present condition is intolerable, and will get worse.

The city we live in was planned as a horse and buggy town in which your great grandfather drove at 10 miles an hour. With the invention of the motor car that speed has been reduced, in the rush hours on certain streets to eight miles an hour. The average down town speed in rush hours is 9.67 miles an hour. The Planning Board and its experts have in my opinion shown the minimum services for a city of 1,500,000, and the priorities given each super highway or other project in the post war period will be matters to be decided by the people of Toronto. The modern super highway is a depressed or excavated street over which streets pass by means of bridges. Where a street car line is included, the street car travels on its own right of way which is of sufficient width to allow passengers to pass up stairs to the bridges in complete safety. Motor traffic goes by uninterrupted at high speed. Toronto is famous for its ravines and infamous for its neglect of most of them. These depressed highways will serve as a new network of artificial ravines which will give the city a new pattern of residential, commercial and industrial development. The problem of designing streets —even fast streets, is not a staggering one for the expert traffic engineer. The task now before us is one of saving existing residential areas from a blight that already afflicts them, of planning new neighbourhoods; of seeing to it that the children of both groups can go with safety to school without crossing traffic streets—that adults and children have ample areas for their recreation; of recreating out of slum property an area that will provide all the pleasures of suburban living with all the amenities of city life. Where the people will live has now been determined—how they will live is a vastly greater problem calling for a sympathetic treatment by persons with a wide range of experience in these matters. At every stage from this point on, the Board must take the public into its confidence for they are in a very real sense, its clients. The home as the nucleus of planning must increasingly dominate our studies.

The area south of College will receive early attention because, in that area, are plague spots which no city can afford to support at least morally, and its rehabilitation represents an obvious source of immediate employment.

So far I have hesitated to use the word "beauty", preferring to base the new planning in terms of usefulness and an orderly arrangement of all human activities. That beauty will grow out of such planning I have no doubt. The replanning of the City Hall area may be justified on all these grounds, though a narrow economy might decide it to be unnecessary. There must be few cities in the world with as mean a civic centre as Toronto, or as outmoded a City Hall in all its functions. It has nothing to commend it—it lacks even the medieval picturesqueness of Hamilton's City Hall with its colourful market place. The City Hall in Toronto is the hub of the city—the place to which tourists come and stare; the place that one remembers as Toronto, even if one is thousands of miles away. The City Hall and its vicinity should be the mirror that reflects the spacious and orderly planning of the rest of the city. "A city that is splendid and proud, that can inspire the loyalties of the people," cannot afford to house its administration and its courts of justice within a stone's throw of a lumber yard in a congested area.

Housing will not be a function of the Planning Board, but as it will define the areas where housing should go, I would like to mention it here. The method is one that may be adopted throughout Canada, and is one that does not seem to be properly understood by the Press. We have in our blighted area, euphemistically known as Moss Park, an area that should be condemned and acquired by the city. The buildings will then de demolished and houses, apartments and duplexes, churches, stores and other buildings can then be placed on the land in conformity with the new street pattern shown on the master plan. Some of that land will be always city land. Part of it will be school property, fire stations, parks, playgrounds and areas given up to public housing. The rest will be for sale or lease to private enterprise. I believe that private enterprise is already interested in the possibility of large scale housing for rent in this kind of area in Canadian cities, and for people in all but the lowest income brackets. It is generally assumed in all housing programmes that a person should not pay more than one-fifth his monthly income for rent. Private enterprise cannot, with any profit, provide shelter on this basis for those whose monthly income is $100 a month or less. This class of Canadian citizen is larger than is generally imagined, and his proper housing should be No. 1 priority after the war. The 1941 census for the twelve metropolitan areas of Canada shows that in the lower third of all tenant groups, 35,400 tenant families earned less than $500.00 a year. The picture of bad housing is even more vividly shown when you contemplate the kind of dwelling you can get for $15.00 a month in war or peace in Canada, and realize that the 1941 survey showed that 25.5 per cent of the total householders in Hull were in this category; 25 per cent in St. John, N.B.; 15.1 per cent in Sherbrooke; 15 per cent in Saskatoon and with proportionately high percentages in other Canadian municipalities. There can be no doubt that an alarming and acute housing crisis has been piling up and awaits urgent action in the immediate post war years. Decent living accommodation for low wage income families remains the unsolved major problem of our urban communities."—(Special Committee on Reconstruction and Re-Establishment, King's Printer, Nov., 1943.)

It is not often that one has the privilege of addressing so influential an audience, and I should like to say something more on the subject of housing. I have already suggested that the solution calls for immediate action. Various estimates have been given of the Canadian Housing need after the war. These vary from 300,000 estimated by Wartime Housing Limited, to one million, a figure given at a meeting of the Society of Real Estate appraisers in Toronto last year. The former figure of need was carefully estimated though I do not know its basis—the latter I know nothing about at all except that it has had confirmation in other places. If we take an average of those two figures, we get a backlog of houses, including slum clearance of 650,000 dwelling units. Gigantic as such a programme would appear to be, it is lower on a proportional basis that the post war building programme of Great Britain, the United States or New Zealand. Dut to the uncertainty of the Government's intentions in regard to housing, fear is being expressed in many quarters that a programme of great magnitude will be launched, in which private enterprise in the housing field will be restricted, if not actually destroyed. If we take the experience of Great Britain and the United States in this field, nothing could, I believe, be further from the truth. We may anticipate federal assistance in the fields of Home Ownership, and home improvement on which the National Housing Administration has already guaranteed some millions of dollars with infinitesimal loss. Slum clearance, low rent projects and farm housing come under a different category, in which Canada, of all the United and enemy nations with the possible exception of Japan, has had no experience. But even there, the ordinary professional and construction channels will be used for building if we would not court disaster. Nor do I see any reason to fear that one class of project will be adopted to the exclusion of others. The whole vast programme must be worked out, at any rate at the beginning, on a basis of finding the task that will take up the first shock of demobilization.

There is a vital element in any scheme of rehabilitation that I have already mentioned that will arouse hostility in certain quarters, but which is essential to the success of any reconstruction scheme. That is the matter of land acquisition in large blocks by the municipality with federal assistance. Without such a provision, the whole rehabilitation proposal of the City Planning Board breaks down. In 1941, after a visit to England, I mentioned this subject, quite innocently, in Convocation Hall, and I gathered later that I had shocked quite a number in my audience. Today, it is openly discussed, and has been declared to be the policy of Toronto by none other than His Worship the Mayor, in a memorandum which I shall refer to later. Assuming the necessary legislation is provided, it would be the function of the Planning Board to decide on the area to be acquired (though the ultimate decision would be that of City Council) ; and definitely indicated, as the American Planning Association has pointed out, "would be the proposed use of every portion of the area, whether for public purposes or for leasing to private enterprise, and such use would be determined without regard to acquisition cost of the land.

The acquisition of the land would be a by-product of the job of clearing away the obstacles to redevelopment. In arriving at a decision as to its subsequent use it should be deemed to have cost nothing. In other words, it would be used to the best interest of the whole urban community, as indicated by the master plan, and irrespective of acquisition cost. Any portion of the cost not subsequently recovered would simply be written off as the price to be paid for the errors of past generations." You might well ask at this point, Mr. President and Gentlemen, what can be done about all this. In addition to a mass of material which private groups and municipal committees have prepared, the Federal Government has set up the House of Commons Special Committee on Reconstruction and Reestablishment; and the Reconstruction Committee, known as the James Committee has, through its sub-committee on Housing and Community Planning, presented a report in which the need for housing and planning is gone into in great detail, and recommendations made for the carrying out of both. As a member of the latter sub-committee, I can not give you information contained in the report. However, I can refer you to the Minutes of Proceedings No. 31 of the House of Commons Committee to whom the Federation of Mayors and Municipalities presented a brief on November 27, 1943. In that document which received little, if any notice in the press, is a paragraph which may well be the Magna Carta of planning in this country. Mayor Conboy of this city spoke and subscribed to the various points contained in it, along with the mayors of every municipality in Canada. It reads as follows:

> Specifically, the local government of the entire local area should be given the power:
>
> (1) To define the area to be planned;
> (2) To create the necessary planning machinery; and to provide for the making of a master plan for the urban area;
> (3) To vest the planning agency with all authority necessary to formulate and keep up to date the master plan.
> (4) To define "public purpose" to include any purpose deemed, by the appropriate agency of government within the urban area, to be esesntial for the realization of the master plan;
> (5) To acquire, by simple measures, and where necessary by condemnation, land anywhere within the urban area for a public purpose as above defined; to hold, use, lease, sell or exchange such land; and in any case to make certain that it shall be used only in accordance with the master plan;
> (6) To enact and enforce ordinances requiring the owners of real property within the urbanized area to use it, or to permit its use, only in accordance with the master plan.

The Mayors then go on to say:

> "Moreover, the scope of the problem—urban reconstruction—has gone far beyond the proportions of a mere local responsibility. It is a matter affecting virtually all the urban communities, and involves *more than half* the population of the country. Only the fiscal capacity of the federal government will be adequate for the task in hand. The question, as we see it, is not whether the federal government will assume the responsibility, but rather, on what terms,

and what conditions, and for what kind of local public works."

To this question the Mayors and the people of Canada are still waiting for an answer.

There is nothing, Gentlemen, that I can add to the arguments of the Federation of Mayors and Municipalities. It is complete and it is the foundation stone on which our post war planning will be built. I can, however, stress the urgency of the matter. In normal times no planner would undertake the preparation of a master plan for Toronto in less than a three year period. We are therefore already late, and demobilized troops and industrial workers will have returned home to many a Canadian municipality before the jobs that will put them back to work have been planned. It is not so in New York where the Planning Board have a $22,000,000 budget for plans, many of which are now finished, for a reconstruction programme costing $1,000,000,000 spread over the first six post war years. In 1941 the Minister of Reconstruction warned the people of Britain that, in his own words, "Planning Sytsems and plans must be ready. We know what unpreparedness for war has meant. To be unprepared for peace may be far more serious. We cannot count on the instinctive heroic energy which war evokes—the readiness for sacrifice, the subordination of personal prejudices and possession, the community of nation and individual in one mind and one heart for a single purpose. There is little of that in the common ways of peace." Today the reconstruction plans of Britain are further advanced than those of any of the allied nations, while we in Canada are still proving the need and estimating the cost. I wish we could say with Lord Reith in the House of Lords: "At least I can say this—the site is cleared, and the foundations laid. It will not be grass that grows upon them".

I am greatly obliged to you, Mr. President and Gentlemen, for your hospitality and for the privilege of speaking to you today.

"POST-WAR UTILIZATION OF FARM-PRODUCTS"

AN ADDRESS BY

MRS. PHYLLIS G. TURNER.

Chairman: The President, Mr. W. Eason Humphreys.

Thursday, January 27, 1944

MR. HUMPHREYS: If confronted with the job of conserving and co-ordinating supplies of animal, vegetable and fish oils, vitamin oils, as well as lard, shortening, the oils concerned with paint, varnish, printing inks, resin and turpentine, to say nothing of the starch and adhesive industry, we could say we really had a job of work.

That, gentlemen, is the job of our charming and distinguished guest of honour today, Mrs. Phyllis G. Turner, Administrator of Oils and Fats.

The first woman to grace our platform spoke to the Club back in 1917. That tradition is being maintained today by Mrs. Turner, who was born in British Columbia and graduated from the University there with first-class honours in economics and political science.

Afterwards, our guest gained the Susan B. Anthony Fellowship, Department of Economics, Award at Bryn Mawr, and later Graduate European Fellowship from Bryn Mawr and Travelling Fellowship of the Canadian Federation of University Women.

Mrs. Turner spent some time in Marburg, Germany, working in the University Library there on a thesis dealing with communistic and religious sects that came to Canada from Germany.

Then Mrs. Turner married an Englishman, but after his passing, she returned to British Columbia with her two children, and in 1934, came to Ottawa to join the staff of the Tariff Board, to which, together with the Dominion Trade and Industry Commission, she is Chief Research Economist. When war came, Mrs. Turner found herself technical adviser to the Oils Administrator. Now, *she* is the Administrator.

Our guest is about to speak to us on "Post-War Utilization of Farm Products". Gentlemen: Mrs. Phyllis G. Turner.

MRS. TURNER: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your kind words of introduction. Your reference to my economic training brings to my mind the list of qualifications which are described by a Cambridge Don as being indispensable to a proper understanding of economics. Among others he mentions the necessity of having a knowledge of Juridical Latin and Greek to enable one to comprehend the Pandects of Justinian; a thorough knowledge of the juridical principles of credit; a thorough knowledge of the principles of Natural Philosophy and modern algebra; and a knowledge of the history of all nations. He further states that "no one can thoroughly realize the awful sublimity of the genius of Bacon until he studies economics, because it is the literal realization of his matchless discovery that the same principles of mathematical and physical Science which govern the phenomena of nature equally govern the practical business of life."

Certainly, the establishment of these qualifications would result in a rapid diminution in the number of economists, professional and otherwise, and I would be among the first to retire from their ranks. I make this announcement at the outset of my address to you today to set your minds at ease that I shall not attempt to elaborate on the Pandects of Justinian nor discourse upon the "awful sublimity of the genius of Bacon". But rather I shall venture to place before you a few comments on one of the most intricate problems facing Canadians in the period following the war, namely, the utilization of farm products.

Post-War Utilization of Farm Products

When the fighting forces of the Axis Powers have been completely defeated, the United Nations will be in control of a shattered world, and it is obvious that that world will need to be rebuilt. This affords an opportunity such as humanity has never had before of building a world in which the great advances of modern science can be applied to the development of an organization of human society which will not only be free from war but a world in which mankind can rise to a level of well being and culture higher than that dreamed of by social reformers of past ages.

The increasing tempo and success of our allied military program makes it imperative for us in Canada to give substance as well as thought to our blueprint for industry and agriculture. Industrially we are faced with huge increases in production capacity which, unless correctly channelled, will revert to economically crippling surpluses.

But first and foremost, this is an agricultural country with more than 50% of the population earning their livelihood from the soil and thereby producing more than one-third of the nation's wealth. We shall be faced with the problem of rehabilitating our returning manpower on the land and of making it profitable for them. This may be accomplished by the development of markets for our agricultural products as raw materials, in the form of processed foods, or as finished industrial materials.

Industries based on agricultural raw materials are not new. Many such industries are already in existence as, for example: Vegetable oil crushing, linen manufacture, plywoods and pressed woods, plastics—to mention only a few.

In studying the relationship between our Canadian agricultural and industrial development, I have been impressed with the extremely conservative approach which has been made to the industrial utilization of farm products, particularly insofar as the processing and marketing of foodstuffs for export are concerned. Admittedly, the development of new non-food products from agricultural raw materials is of relatively recent advent, but at no time in our history has the development of new products been more necessary than it is today, for we are confronted with the urgency of reorganizing our country's production in line with its natural productivity and in accordance with the reorganization in world markets which will follow the cessation of hostilities.

The scientific and industrial progress which has been made during the war years has been phenomenal. There is little that can be said in favour of war—nevertheless, it is a fact that war stimulates man's inventive genius to the benefit of science and industry: And the results achieved in these two fields during crises will undoubtedly help to change the course of our future history.

I wonder if, during these trying times with the whole world at war, we fully realize how great a contribution has been made in successfully adapting whole industries, many raw materials, and substitute products to new conditions. When the war is over and the seas again are open to unrestricted commerce, and nations are free to buy the goods they want, we are going to find that many of the things we previously thought essential are no longer necessary nor desirable. New developments will have outmoded and outdated our past living.

As a consequence of the necessity of making this country one of the principal arsenals of the United Nations, many new industries have been developed which depend on agriculture for their raw materials, and it is to be expected that with the greater application of technology to agricultural economics, the coming post-war developments will see agriculture stabilized and expanded in a way comparable to the mechanical and chemical development of industry after the last war.

This wedding of industry and agriculture is not new. Industry has been using farm products in considerable for many years, but, unfortunately, agriculture has been too inactive in the past two decades to maintain a competitive position with synthetic materials of non-agricultural origin.

We are all aware of the prominence which is being given to the question of the nutrition of our war-torn world. The significant part which Canadian agriculture and its food industries will play in any program designed to feed the starving nations of the world is of paramount importance in the consideration of Canada's post-war policies. Since your club is primarily interested in inter-Empire relations, I would stress Canada's position with respect to the realization of "Freedom from Want" in the United Kingdom.

The Atlantic Charter pronounces "Freedom from Want" for all men of all lands. The standard of living for the great majority of mankind is so low that, even if want is interpreted as *merely the necessities of a healthy life,* it will take several decades to fulfil that promise.

Planning for "Freedom from Want" is a basic human essential, and it is the first necessity for the establishment of a sounder national life.

Adequate nutrition is of real importance in the United Kingdom where about one-third of the population does not enjoy food and shelter of the standard required for health and, I might add, that in most other countries, the under-nourished and inadequately-housed population is much greater than in the British Isles.

The United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture, and a food plan based on human needs has required that the principal producer nations, namely, the United States and Canada, adjust their food production programs, not merely to feed their own people, but to meet the needs of Britain and in anticipation of supplying the requirements of European countries as soon as they are liberated from the Nazi yoke. This increased food production is not designed to meet trade interests, (though I might suggest that this is the logical time for Canadian food industries to assume their rightful place in world markets), but, rather, the broad aim is to produce what the nations of Europe will require to avoid starvation and further loss of life. This is a complete reversal of the food policy of the 1930's which limited supply to economic demand.

Formerly one of the primary factors causing distress in the marketing of Canadian farm products was the fact that pre-war European agriculture was, to a large extent, adapted for national self-sufficiency as a safeguard against food shortage in war. If the European countries will adopt a food policy based on the nutritional needs of their peoples on the health standard, European agriculture will need to be adjusted to a greatly increased production of milk and other protective foods with a resulting decreased production of certain other foods, especially wheat, sugar and animal products which, in any case, are uneconomical for western Europe from the point of view of world trade.

The importance of ensuring the production of adequate supplies of foodstuffs for Europe is vital both to the afflicted countries and to the producer states of which this country is one of the most important for, if Europe is forced back on an agricultural war policy instead of on to an agricultural nutrition policy, we shall all find ourselves in exactly the same position as in 1938.

Let us consider for a few moments what effect a food nutrition policy would have on the promotion of human welfare and also its effect upon the utilization of farm products.

Accepting the fact that the health of the nation is dependent upon an adequate diet, it follows then, that below a certain income level, as income per head of the family falls, the diet becomes increasingly deficient in vitamins, minerals and proteins because the foods rich in these are relatively expensive. As the diet becomes worse, health and physique deteriorate. In Britain, among the people who are worst fed, the mortality rate is 30 per 1000. Among the people who are adequately fed and housed, the rate is 9 per 1000. The infant mortality rate is over 100 per 1000 among the worst fed groups compared with about 20 per 1000 among the better nourished.

Among the undernourished, stature is three or four inches shorter and physique is worse. Physical disabilities, such as defective sight and hearing and premature senility, are more prevalent. In short, lack of adequate food is correlated with disease, physical disability and premature deaths.

Biologists might make a rough estimate of the additional man-years of life which could be added to the common people of the world if even food only were made available on a health standard. We should save more man-years of life in *one decade* than we have lost in all the wars in the last one hundred years.

The Inter-Allied Committee on Post War Requirements has just published its first comprehensive estimate of needs of Europe in the immediate post-war period.

The Committee estimates that in the first six months of peace, Europe will require 45,855,000 tons of "foodstuffs, raw materials and articles of prime necessity".

The main bulk of the requirements is made up of foodstuffs, principally grain, although there will be a demand for all types of protein foods. Insofar as wheat is concerned, Canada's immense reservoir of wheat together with the surplus being held by the Argentine and Australia would seem to be an assurance that a Europe liberated in 1944 would not go without food.

If food needs on a health standard are to be met, there will be a great expansion of agriculture. To meet these needs it is estimated that in the United States alone, 40 million more acres of food and feeding stuff crops will need to be grown.

I would like to give you some idea of the percentage increase, as computed in the United States, of the acreage which would be necessary if food requirements are to be met on a more liberal basis.

Using the 1936-1940 acreage as a standard, the following commodities will require the acreage increases which I shall now list for you.

Feed grains - - -	9%	increase
Fruits - - - - - -	19%	”
Beans, peas, etc. - -	16%	”
Potatoes - - - -	13%	”
Truck Crops - - -	75%	”

On the same basis, livestock production would require to be increased considerably. To cite a few examples: Milk cows would have to be increased by nearly 40%; hens for eggs by 23%; hogs by 9%; and beef cattle by 7%.

If food needs are based on health standards, then a reorientation of agriculture and agricultural industries will be required. In Britain, for example, a production of milk, vegetables and some fruit adequate to maintain health standards is so large that some of the land at present producing beef, wheat and sugarbeets, which can all be imported more cheaply than they can be produced, would need to be devoted to dairying, vegetables and fruit-growing, etc. On the other hand, such food-producing nations as Canada would be required to produce wheat, flour, concentrated feeds, concentrated and prepared foods, and vitamin specialties.

An agricultural nutrition policy should provide not only guaranteed market; it should also provide a guaranteed price at a level which will give reasonable remuneration to the land worker.

If the farmer is given reasonably stable conditions he may be trusted to practise good husbandry. Prices agreed upon in advance which show a modest margin and a guaranteed market are the two essentials for stability. Of course, the nation has a right to expect efficiency if it provides stable conditions.

It is furthermore desirable that all food processing industries be concentrated in the producer countries for it is proper, I think, that specialized industrial expansion be associated with agricultural development.

The entire question of the more ample utilization of farm products is also intimately linked up with industrial development. It has been shown that in order for agriculture to reach its highest degree of efficiency that there should be three workers in other industries to one in agriculture.

If we are to produce the food the people of the world need, there will be an era of industrial and agricultural prosperity in Canada. At the end of the war, we might well convert the industrial capacity used for tanks, guns, and mechanized equipment into production media for tractors, cultivators, milling machines and other equipment needed for a world-wide efficient agriculture.

Naturally, the organization of a world food policy would have to be international in character. Each nation would have to set up an organization for its own national needs and, in addition, an international organization would enable nations to co-operate with each other in regulating food production and in developing their industries and trade on a global basis to their mutual advantage. Such a plan would not work, however, unless all the producing countries adopt this co-operative food program.

Provided Canada can maintain her eminence in the food field by producing quantity and quality products and, further, provided that satisfactory multi-lateral arrangements respecting the economies of the export of our farm products can be made, there should be a lucrative market for Canadian products for some years after the war.

I have already alluded to the possibility of expanding our export of prepared foods, particularly of the concentrated type, and I wish to leave with you the thought that our manufacturers have not fully explored the potential export markets for prepared or specialty cereal products, and pre-cooked, dehydrated and preserved foods of all kinds, and I would point out that the potential export market goes far beyond the European sphere of demand for these products.

So far, I have emphasized the use of farm products for food purposes only, and I would now stress that utilization of agricultural raw materials is by no means limited to their use as foodstuffs, for science has transmuted crops into basic commodities of industry. Necessity being the Mother of Invention, industry has been obliged to turn to domestic agricultural raw materials previously obtained elsewhere and, by a combination of science, management and invention, we might well be on the threshold of a period when Canadian agricultural production will find its rightful place in Canadian industry.

In the particular field I have administered during the war period, namely, the production, procurement and distribution of all types of oils and fats, I have been impressed with the necessity of fostering the closer collaboration between industry and agriculture. Under normal circumstances, we consume in Canada, exclusive of butter, some 450 million pounds of fats annually. Of this quantity, our net imports in peacetime amounted to about 45 per cent of our requirements.

We have had to consider the disappearance from world markets of the fats formerly supplied from the Netherlands East Indies, the Philippines, the Malay States, and other Pacific areas now occupied by Japan. It is now realized that a substantial part of the fat requirements of Britain, the United States, and Canada must be met essentiall on the North American Continent. In addition, there are heavy demands from Russia and it is anticipated that these demands will increase with the continuation of this conflict.

All these demands must be met by additional hemisphere production, by added imports from areas not under Axis control, by savings in consumption, and as a result of other adjustments.

To meet this situation, both the United States and Canada early in 1942 agreed to increase their oil-bearing crops and the oil-seed production in 1943 was very satisfactory.

Planning for the 1944 crop is now proceeding in the same co-operative spirit in order that the combined production of fats in the two countries may contribute in the most advantageous manner to the supply problem of the United Nations.

We have been interested in obtaining a substantial increase in flax production and expansion of our soya bean crop. In addition, during 1943, the first commercial scale production of sunflower seed and rapeseed crops was initiated in Canada. At the present time, we are studying the economics of this new type of agriculture to determine whether it might be feasible under post-war conditions.

This is an important development for Canada because this country has not been able to produce any appreciable amounts of edible oils, and it might well mean that we would become self-sufficient in this regard if our production of linseed, soya bean, sunflower seed and rapeseed could be maintained.

Adequate production of flaxseed in Canada is of vital importance not only to this country but to the United Nations. Flaxseed, from which linseed oil is obtained, is the principal oil-bearing crop produceable in Canada. Linseed oil is primarily a paint oil or protective coating oil since it is one of the basic raw materials in the manufacture of paints, enamels, varnishes and all other protective coatings. Linseed oil, therefore, is absolutely essential to preserve and prolong the life of military equipment. Every ship, every tank, every plane, every piece of ammunition, large or small, must have a suitable protective coating manufactured from this oil.

Prior to the war, other oils in addition to linseed, were used by the paint industry. These oils were obtained from China and Manchuria and are, therefore, unavailable today.

The principal value of these imported oils was their ability to impart rapid drying to a paint product. When our supplies of these Oriental oils were cut off, we immediately set to work to improve our own linseed oil. The results have been phenomenally successful for new processes have revolutionized its uses and today processed linseed oil is replacing tung oil, previously obtained from China, for the manufacture of all the rapid drying finishes.

But these uses for linseed oil do not stop in the paint field. The oil is used extensively for the manufacture of insulating compositions, plastics, and linseed meal which is a by-product of the oil industry and is a valuable feed for livestock possessing many of the same intrinsic properties as soya bean meal. Efforts to manufacture a shortening from linseed oil give promise of final success.

The introduction and development of new crops will take time—how much time it is impossible to tell. However, whatever the length of time, it must be measured from the beginning and the time to start is *now*. To make such crops more attractive to the farmer, a program of the industrial utilization of by-products must be explored to the fullest possible extent.

The problem of using some of the billion bushel wheat surplus for industrial purposes has also been attacked, and I believe that, here again, we have developed permanent processing industries which will utilize Canadian wheat as a raw material.

Prior to the war, Japan took considerable quantities of low-grade Canadian wheat flour which she processed by a so-called "secret" method to produce a flavouring compound which was marketed and shipped all over the world. This flavouring compound was used in Europe and the Americas to produce a meaty flavour in soups, sauces, biscuits and meat-like concentrates. The Japanese process is no longer secret—the product produced is known as "sodium glutemate" and it is made from gluten for which Canadian wheat is renowned. Today, we are beginning to realize that by shipping our flour to to East and remaining content to be primary producers only, we were losing a very lucrative trade.

The industrial utilization of wheat naturally involves the production of wheat starch—a product which has really deserved more attention than it has previously received. Wheat starch has all the good properties of corn starch, and many experts believe it is even more adaptable and useful than its competitor.

The starch picture in Canada today is not to bright for in pre-war times we received very considerable imports of tapioca starch from the Pacific areas, and even our own corn starch industry is partially dependent for its existence on imports of corn from the United States.

In the very near future, we shall see established in Canada a wheat starch and gluten industry which will use considerable quantities of Canadian surplus wheat as its raw material, and Canadian wheat starch will be used in a multitude of domestic industries. Canada should have little difficulty in establishing and maintaining this industry. The important and valuable by-product of "sodium glutemate" derived from the gluten will, unquestionably, be the determining factor, and it is well established that Canadian wheat is richer in this component than any wheat produced anywhere else in the world.

Natural science has a multitude of doors waiting to be opened—of new rooms beyond those doors filled with riches to reward those who have faith in the quest. Such faith is grounded in the utilization of natural processes to the maximum extent, and in applying the knowledge we thus gain to the guidance, channelling and amplification of the natural processes for the creation of benefits to mankind.

One of the most exciting quests of recent years reached its final stages within the past year. I speak now of the amazing transformation of milk casein into a fibre of textile utility. The product produced is surprisingly similar to wool, and it of the utmost importance to the future of the entire textile field. This new product is the lowest priced protein fibre now available, and I shall pass out a few small samples of cloth containing varying percentages of this new material. It is warm, soft, resilent and will drape well. It can be added to rayon and cotton to improve the adaptability of these textiles.

Most of the important uses of this fire made from milk have been for women's dress fabrics, shirtings, sweaters, men's hosiery, etc. I wonder how many of you gathered here today are actually wearing some article of clothing manufactured from "Aralac"—the most modern of our man-made fibres. I understand that in many plants of the United States, over ten million yards of fabric are manufactured monthly which contain a verying percentage of "Aralac" fibre. The production of this fibre has progressed so rapidly that materials used in several millions of garments are purported to contain different percentages of the synthetic wool fibre. Advancement in the manufacture of the synthetic wool fibres is by no means completed, and scientists are today confident that they can produce synthetic wool from raw materials which will be cheaper than milk casein.

Considerable progress has been made along the lines of separating the proteins from soya beans, peanuts, and linseed. From oil-free meal of these vegetable products, a high-grade, low-cost vegetable protein of great purity may be obtained. Material of this type would be least subject to post-war competition and, provided we could produce the raw materials economically and operate the industrial protein extraction with a high degree of efficiency, we would possess an export market for the protein material as well as the finished product manufactured therefrom. I would look for a very large expansion in the production and use of the so-called "Prolon" fibres for these appear to have great possibilities in the post-war textile picture. The field of synthetic fibres is immense, and the initial products have already passed the rigid requirements of the textile trade, and it is to be expected that low-priced, large-volume production will enable a substantial percentage of the world's population to be better clothed.

Before leaving the discussion of the industrial use of proteins, I would like to refer to an industry which comes under the purview of the Administration of which I have charge. I speak of the paint or protective coating industry. Some twenty years ago, the more adventurous manufacturers endeavoured to produce a protective coating of a so-called casein emulsion type. The wearing properties and decorative effects of these paints were not entirely satisfactory in the intial stages of their development. Dut to the shortage of oil during the war, considerable advancement has been made in the production of superior types of casein paints. The word "Casein" here is actually a misnomer for, in the majority of cases, the casein is actually vegetable protein usually derived from soya beans.

There are today many types of the most beautiful interior finishes which are a combination of synthetic resins and soya protein, and I fully expect that these will find increasing usage for indoor decoration in the post-war period. These vegetable proteins have many other applications. They are used in the manufacture of glues and adhesives, some of which enter into the plywood industry; in the manufacture of many types of plastics such as sizings; in the pharmaceutical field; and in industrial uses too numerous to mention.

I have tried to emphasize today some of the plans and projects based on the idea of transmuting crops into edible and inedible commodities and into basic commodities of industry. The concept is a massive one! It is based on knitting a closer relationship between agriculture and industry.

If agriculture's post-war period takes its pattern from previous wars and varies only as the severity and duration of this war varies with others, then the years ahead are not very bright. Tho those who say that farming always survives I would agree, but hasten to add that each war has taken a heavy toll of farmers who did not survive.

Because of our fertile soil, favourable climate and extensive use of labour-saving machines, our wheat farmer can produce a bushel of wheat with a smaller expenditure of physical exertion than the farmer of any other country.

Livestock production costs in terms of labour have been reduced through our increased knowledge of livestock rations. We are actually using less feed and labour to produce 100 pounds of beef or pork than ever before in history. Our production practices are more efficient than those used in most other countries.

The prosperity of a nation depends upon the production and distribution of goods. If a large volume is produced and distributed, nearly everyone is prosperous. If factories and farmers are working at only partial capacity, transportation systems and distribution agencies cannot be fully employed. Under such conditions, some men are idle all of the time, or all the men are idle some of the time. These are the conditions existing during depression periods.

The obvious solution of the dilemma is to find new markets for farm products. It matters little whether these are home markets or foreign markets. If the consumption of farm products could be increased by 10% by increased dietary standards, the cycle would be that much improved.

Another method of increasing the demand for raw materials is to find new uses for them. So far as farmers are concerned, it is not very material whether new uses are discovered for crops which may be grown in place of those with which we are all familiar. The essential thing is that there should be an effective demand which will encourage farmers to utilize their land, livestock and equipment to a high point of efficiency. This is the economic method by which their income and the national income can be simultaneously increased.

In closing, I wish to repeat that prosperity comes from production. Canada is prosperous when all are fully employed at productive labour, and the products of labour exchanged on an equitable basis. By the integration of agriculture and industry through the development of new uses for our crops, we may be able to utilize in the future the resources of the country and keep our labour fully employed. But to accomplish this result, the

Canadian people must bring to the development of agriculture and industry the same courage and determination which our forbears displayed in building the railways, breaking new land and hewing the forests. The success of the future development depends on the individual initiative and courage of every citizen of this Dominion.

"THE SMALL NATIONS IN WORLD AFFAIRS"

AN ADDRESS BY

HIS EXCELLENCY CONSTANTIN FOTITCH,

YUGOSLAVIAN AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON.

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eason Humphreys.

Thursday, February 7, 1944

MR. HUMPHREYS: Forty years ago, the founders of this Club wrote a Constitution, the first article of which says: "The organization shall be called 'The Empire Club of Canada'."

If that name should imply any limitation of outlook today, and many other occasions in the past, will make it plain that the Club's interests are by no means limited.

Today, Yugoslavia occupies our attention, for we are honoured by the presence here of His Excellency, Constantin Fotitch, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Royal Yugoslav Embassy, Washington.

His Excellency's career is distinguished and most interesting. Born, of course, in Yugoslavia, he graduated from the University of Law, Bordeaux, France. Our guest began his military life in 1912 and entered the diplomatic service in 1915. His Excellency's extensive diplomatic duties took him to Berne, Switzerland, in 1917, to Paris in 1918, and to London in 1921, afterwards returning to Paris as Delegate to the Peace Conference in 1924.

Later His Excellency became head of the League of Nations Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Counsellor of the Legation at Rome.

Returning to Geneva, he assumed a number of very important offices, afterwards acting as Under Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1930.

Then as envoy, His Excellency went to Moscow, remaining there until 1935, when he was appointed to Washington.

Our guest has had a distinguished military career, too, having received many military and other awards, the details of which have appeared in your announcement card.

Gentlemen: I have the honour to present His Excellency, Constantin Fotitch, Ambassador of Yugoslavia in Washington, D.C., who will speak to us about: "The Small Nations in World Affairs and Their Role in the Future Organization of the Peace."

Mr. Fotitch: I was extremely pleased to be able to accept your invitation and to have this opportunity of addressing the members of the Canadian Empire Club. A little more than one year ago it was my privilege to speak here in Toronto at the invitation of the Canadian Club and I was especially gratified to find what keen interest was shown by that distinguished Canadian association in the problems of my country. I feel sure that your invitation also is due to the interest which your Association has in our problems and I am very glad to come before you to discuss, in the light of my personal experiences in the period between the two World Wars, not merely our actual problems but our views about the future organization of world peace. We know that the contribution which a country like Yugoslavia can make toward a goal of such a magnitude as the future organization of the world will be a modest one compared to the part which must be played by the principal members of the United Nations. But, even though modest, our contribution will be probably of some value on account of our geographical position in a region of Europe where many past conflicts originated, one which must be taken seriously into consideration in the light of past experience, if the cause of possible future conflicts is to be eliminated.

You may have expected me to choose as the topic of my address the present condition in Yugoslavia, the heroic resistance of her people to the enemy, and the many confused aspects of our internal problems. Even though I may disappoint you, I will set aside those problems and devote my remarks to the more general subject of an analysis of the reasons which brought about the failure of the peace system established in 1919 and my views of what we in Yugoslavia expect to see after victory in order to achieve peace in that better, future world for which we have suffered untold sacrifices.

We entered this war in April, 1941, when the situation of the Allies was very dark and probably at the lowest point in the course of this war. Great Britain stood alone with Canada and the other Dominions; the United States and Russia were neutral; France, Belgium, Holland, Norway, were overrun by the Axis which seemed to be at that time at the height of its military strength. But we chose unhesitatingly to resist the Axis for the preservation of our freedom and of our concept of life. We considered that when issues such as these are involved there can be no compromise if a nation intends to remain free and preserve its integrity. It was not the first time such a choice has confronted my country and I count it a high privilege to have been born in a community in which a sense of historical perspective was strongly developed, one whose geographical situation and inherited instincts were such that it never evaded an issue and was always ready to accept the consequences of whatever action it took.

I would like to dwell for a moment on the situation which existed at the close of the last World War. Europe was changed not only because of the war and not only because an assembly at Versailles so decreed, but because society had reached a new maturity. Many new nations were born. It was difficult to remember the names of all the new capitals. But if anyone visited these hitherto little known cities he could observe that they seemed alert and active and life in them proceeded at full swing. The task of organizing these new countries was far from easy. Some of them had not enjoyed national independence for many years; some had never before been independent. But hope and faith were strong enough to overcome these difficulties. An organization composed of many nations, new and old, made its headquarters in Geneva and set to work to create the structure of an international society.

I had the privilege of being associated with those responsible for the creation of this new international society and also with those who were responsible for making it work. As one of the representatives of a small nation, which was a member of regional groups such as the Little Entente and the Balkan Pact Alliance, I had the opportunity of discussing international problems with statesmen such as Aristide Briand, Sir John Simon, Arthur Henderson, Stresseman, Titulescu and Benes. Year after year I went to Geneva, sat at the same table and discussed the same problems of minorities, disarmament, economic reconstruction, emancipation of mandated areas and so forth.

During this time, menacing and ever darker clouds began to gather in the Geneva skies above the heads of the statesmen sitting in the Palace of Nations. Even between 1924 and 1935 it was easy to sense that from behind those clouds would come world catastrophe. Forces hostile to Geneva were chiefly responsible for this catastrophe, but one must admit that very little was done in Geneva itself to prevent it, even though Geneva was the meeting place for half the world. The League of Nations itself was unfortunately not prepared to deal successfully with the task of maintaining peace. President Wilson and those who drafted with him the Covenant of the League realized rightly that "peace is indivisible" and they had planned a universal organization. Unfortunately, from the very beginning, the League failed to achieve its universality through the absence of the United States of America from Geneva, as well as the absence of Soviet Russia. Although most of the nations represented at

Geneva had gone through the agony of a cruel war in which human losses had reached totals unknown in history, some of the nations which were defeated in the last war, practically all of whom are to be found today in the ranks of Germany's satellites, began from the very beginning to undermine from within the League the new international order, one which certainly was incomparably more just than that which existed prior to 1914. Their endeavors were soon greatly to be encouraged by Japan, and by Germany and Italy which under the leadership of Hitler and Mussolini, sought to demolish the newly constituted international organization in order to satisfy their imperialistic ambition for domination, and in the case of Nazi Germany to wipe out their defeat. On the other side those who had suffered in the war as allies to bring about victory for democracy did not feel that they had the necessary strength to resist the cunning onslaught of their former enemies, who, with Italy and Japan, built up the association of the so-called "have-nots".

People who would once have roused themselves in the face of danger, now dozed on, hoping that things would work themselves out, that time would solve all. Even those statesmen who saw what was ahead and were not concerned with their own careers, were afraid to advocate bold steps which nobody was ready to take. Thus it was that nothing was done to curb Mussolini and Hitler when it would have been an easy task, and though it was already clear that it would be far more difficult later.

The methods and the behaviour of these two dictators were something quite new to the international scene, and the statesmen of the countries chiefly responsible for the maintenance of peace, failed to recignize them as a real menace.

For example in 1930, at a time when the insolence of Mussolini towards France and my own country went beyond even that to which we had become accustomed, we approached one of the greatest French leaders and suggested that he should call Mussolini's bluff and insist upon full apologies. Such a humiliation might well have led to the collapse of the boastful Fascist leader. We felt sure that all peace-loving nations would receive the news of Mussolini's downfall with great relief and general satisfaction. But the great Briand shrugged his shoulders at our proposal to show the disdain the felt for Mussolini and told me, "No, it is not yet time. Do as I do; the more violent and insulting he is, the more I keep telling him of my friendship towards him." Unfortunately, disdain and contempt were not enough to rid the world of Mussolini.

The growing threat of German aggression which a war-weary world did not at first perceive, and even when it did perceive was too exhausted to meet; was one of the chief historical features of the period between two world wars. Another important feature was the fear of social upheaval.

Some people and some nations shrank from taking the strong measures which alone could have checked aggression because they feared that if the war broke out, or even if they made adequate preparations for crushing aggression, they would be unable to preserve their social gains. They could not accept the alternative of "guns or butter" presented them by the Germans.

Others on the contrary shrank from inaugurating essential social changes because they feared these would be accompanied by social upheaval. They thus lacked the inner strength which would have enabled them to meet the threat of Nazi aggression.

It should have been quite evident that the Germans when they resumed their march to power would not come to a halt when they had reached the stage they had occupied at the beginning of the first world war, but that they would attempt to reach the goal they had in mind when they entered the first World War, that of world domination. World politicians, however, overlooked that fact because in the actual return of Germany to international life, they saw mainly a counter-balance to the policy of other powers, because they considered that every fresh international crisis would lead to social disturbances and because they were mistaken about the true nature of German ambitions.

Various nations during the past few hundred years have appeared on the stage of history and played the part of world conqueror. But all aimed at creating states in which the principle of "statehood" was set above the principle of nationality. That was the case even with Napoleon, although he led a French national people's army which was proud of having thrown off the shackles of feudalism. Every conquering nation had in the past desired to create a universal state and the same might have been expected from the German nation. The German nation, however, waded into the fray through blood and human sacrifices, drunk with nationalistic frenzy. For the first time in the history of Europe, one nation attacked the rest not in order to rule them; not in order to be the first among the nations, but to be the only nation. This was carrying the idea of nationalism to its extreme. The world must never again allow any nation to threaten general security by the development of such an extreme form of nationalism.

If the two features mentioned above provide the world with an example and a warning; if new factors which might become dangerous are not ignored or neglected when they appear; then the world should be able to utilize the good which lies within it when it sets to work to create new international machinery. Looking further into the future, those responsible for world leadership will have to solve two basic problems: (1) *The problem of security,* which is the problem of how to preserve peace and eradicate all influences which might threaten it. (2) *The problem of equality of well-being,* which is the problem of how to assure to every member of the international community the fruits of civilization, both spiritual and material. Without effective international co-operation on one side and true social and economic reforms on the other, the world will not be able to pass from a historical epoch which has been marked by cruelty and strife to one which will be marked by peaceful progress and spiritual and material well-being.

From the mistakes made between the first World War and from the cruel experiences of the second World War, we may assuredly learn the lesson of how to approach the problems of peace which confront us now. For the small nations, even more than for the great, one obvious lesson is that we can no longer look for security which will insure us an independent life, and the right to progress, in political or economic isolation. We can no longer pursue the old and discredited mirage of security and "freedom from fear" through alliances of our own armaments. In the pre-war years we spent more than 50% of our national income and wealth for armaments and in doing so were forced to lower the standard of living of the whole nation. In our efforts to achieve security we practically brought national progress to a halt. So the only salvation in the future lies in an international organization which will assure a lasting peace by preventing aggression. It is an ideal for which I am sure we small nations would gladly surrender any of the more exaggerated aspects of sovereignty. The Atlantic Charter, the Declaration of Moscow and the recent meeting of the democratic leaders in Teheran, have laid the moral basis for a new international order.

The problems of small nations, although different, are no less complex than the problems of the large nations. Since the population of small nations is not numerous, they are not in a position to defend themselves from aggression and therefore they can exist only in an international system based on justice and order provided as well that they are sufficiently mature for such a system. In their internal life they must attain harmony, and in their external life, at least up to now, they have had to adapt themselves to the desires and specific temperaments of their large neighbours.

The extent to which the sentiments of a nation differ even toward its best friends, can be seen from the example of my nation. Thus, the Yugoslavs in temperament and psychology are most closely related to the Russians, and they feel toward them a warm sentiment of a kind which exists between hardly any other two nations. They are also linguistically so close to the Russians that the Russian language seems to them only a mild variation of their own language. The Yugoslavs feel the same warm sentiment also toward the French though in less degree. They won their freedom physically and spiritually under the tri-colors of the French Revolution; and this they have not forgotten. When the Serbians broke into national revolt near Belgrade in 1804, an event which led to the first free Yugoslav state, these deep-rooted historical sentiments were responsible for their first diplomatic act, which was to send envoys to Russia and France. The fundamental policy of the new country was thereby established and it has never changed since. Without exception, at all times of crisis, Serbia stood shoulder to shoulder with the Russian people and liberal-minded France. Serbia always represented a stumbling block to German invasion. Yugoslavia, too, has shown in the present world crisis that she has not ceased being a stumbling block. In March 27, 1941, under most difficult circumstances and almost barehanded, this small nation again took up arms in defense of her honour and liberty, and her fighters are still battling for the same principles.

The sentiments of the Yugoslav people toward the Anglo-Saxon nations may be defined as follows: The English they remember as their powerful ally of the last war. They were, moreover, the only unconquered European enemy of the Axis when Yugoslavia entered the present war. The Yugoslavs, a people whose islands and mainland are surrounded by many hundreds of miles of seashore, admire the English for their seamanship, their determination, their organizing ability and for the way in which they have spread their civilization to the farthest corners of the world. The United States is admired as a country in which Yugoslavs see reflected qualities similar to those of their own land, whose progress sets a standard which they hope to obtain. Yugoslavs, like the Americans, are born equal, free from class distinctions and social prejudices. A large group of Yugoslavs immigrated to the United States in past decades and have constituted a link between the two nations. We cannot forget either the fairly large number of our citizens who settled in Canada. Owing to their presence your country has had an opportunity to appreciate the qualities of our people and they have, I am told, brought their share to the development of the Dominion. It is through them as well as through our association in the two world wars that our two countries have been brought nearer together in spite of their geographical remoteness.

Thus there should be faith that our great Allies will help the Yugoslav people to choose for themselves their own way of life, and the conditions under which they wish to live, thus making good the provisions of the Atlantic Charter which in the hours of darkness of the long years of Nazi occupation of their country remains for them the guiding spirit and the inspiration of their unyielding resistance to the enemy.

To illustrate further the sentiments of the Yugoslavs toward Russia, I would like to recall an experience which I had in 1922 during the conflict between the Greeks and the Turks in Asia Minor. The late Nikola Pasic, Prime Minister of Yugoslavia and one of the country's greatest statesmen, told me one day when I was secretary in his office, the following incident: "The Allies are asking me to send two divisions of our army to fight on the side of Greece. I am obliged to decline this, not that we do not love our neighbour, Greece, but, although our men would fight for Greece, it could happen that this conflict would turn in a way in which the Soviet Union would become involved, with our men finding themselves in the fight against her. Our people would never agree to meet the Russians as enemies."

It is interesting that Pasic uttered these words at a time when no diplomatic relations existed between the two governments. We must bear in mind that even during the present war, in our country, though occupied, the

Axis leaders have been unable to send, by force or by persuasion, Yugoslavs of orthodox faith to fight against the Russians. The good feeling which exists between the Russian people and the Yugoslavs might be compared with the confidence which an elder member of a family has in a younger member.

It is evident that the only possible future policy for Yugoslavia, and one that is certain to receive the popular support of the nation, is that of close friendship and constructive collaboration with Soviet Russia. Yugoslavia needs encouragement from the Russian people to find its place in international life, and their confidence to find internally that national harmony which will make the Yugoslav nation a useful member of the world community.

A little nation with such complex aspirations and heritage as Yugoslavia, will find domestic tranquility when it has healed the wounds of the past through measured and even-handed justice and when it has so ordered its economic and social affairs that there can be no danger of a repetition of past mistakes.

Our people are profoundly devoted to the democratic concept of life and above all they wish to live as free men because they feel that only in freedom they may attain that higher level of social justice for which they have always been striving. We hope that our nation will achieve in the course of time a new unity based on its fundamental national virtues and an equitable share of all in their national prosperity.

No doubt, the chief responsibility for the success of the new international order will depend upon the four great United Nations with whom we hope to see France soon taking that place to which her long history as one of the centres of European culture and civilization entitles her. Ever since the French Revolution, French influence in Europe has been more widespread than that of any other European nation. This influence, psychologically and spiritually, is not erased even today, and common suffering has made it stronger.

It would be a fatal mistake to think that owing to present conditions, European countries, which are occupied by the Axis or are its satellites, and living in perpetual fear, have lost their capacity for full participation in international life. They have shown the stuff of which they are made, their good or bad qualities, their heroic self sacrifice or their temporary spiritual degeneracy. They almost perished from one or the other, but they have enough vitality to rise again. After the German defeat all these nations will expect to find a place in the world community. They will want to choose freely their own way of life in order to assure their social progress and material prosperity. Those who have failed in their duty will have first to cleanse themselves of all traces of their past. Those who have made untold sacrifices and have preferred brutal aggression to compromise with the aggressor will expect that all injustices done them will be repaired. After that they will, all of them together, become useful members of international society.

I hope that the new international organization, in order to assure mankind a lasting peace, will definitely discard any kind of balance of power or the division of the world into zones of influences. This, especially in Europe, would inevitably lead to a third world war. Only as members of an international organization the smaller nations can keep out of power politics and avoid becoming instruments in imperialistic plans of one great nation against another.

We assume that this future world organization will have as its basic law the Atlantic Charter and as its highest authority a World Council in which, in addition to the four big democracies, there will be found two or three European countries elected as representatives of groups of nations related economically, spiritually or culturally. The participation of smaller nations would be much more effective if it were accomplished in this manner than through the cumbersome method of simultaneous participation of all of them. This arrangement could be supplemented by the invitation of smaller nations to participate in deliberations concerning problems of direct interest to themselves whenever such problems came up for discussion.

In order to prevent aggression and avoid friction caused by disagreements, this international organization should rely on a special tribunal whenever problems not specifically of a political nature arise. The settlement of international problems, both those of a political nature and those which are not specifically political, must be made compulsory if aggression in the future is to be prevented. One of the major reasons for the failure of the League of Nations was that the Covenant did not contain adequate provisions for making arbitration or recourse to the Permanent Court of International Justice compulsory. Thus problems which at their origin might have been solved through compulsory international machinery were left in abeyance with the result that the sentiments grew in intensity and feelings became more embittered which, of course, brought fresh obstacles to good international understanding.

Decisions of the World Council, the Tribunal and any other expert bodies established would be effective only if there existed international force strong enough to compel a recalcitrant member to respect international laws and oblige him to defend his rights only through established international procedures.

For the Balkans and South Europe, in my opinion, hope for the future lies in some specific form of association based upon geographical considerations, provided all possible suspicions of creating political conspiracies could be dissipated. This could be accomplished in such a way that any political implication would be effectively eliminated, and at the same time full freedom given for the growth of common spiritual and economic aspirations. In times of peace three persons talking together in the street does not mean a conspiracy, but the enjoyment of the social opportunities of a free city. The same thing applies to nations. Such an association among the Balkan peoples would only be possible provided peace and security had been achieved and a common democratic outlook been adopted by all of them. Thus, Bulgaria, Rumania, and farther to the north, Hungary, will have to rid their political systems of all those elements which have been friendly to the Axis and which have driven their countries to be the accomplices of aggressors. The reason why collaboration among small nations was difficult and even impossible, during the period between the two world wars, was not so much territorial disputes and minority problems as the differences in political thought and social outlook amongst them. For instance, between Yugoslavia and Hungary sincere collaboration was rendered more difficult not so much on account of Hungarian territorial claims as on account of the difference of our social and economic organization. Yugoslavia was a country where the land was distributed among small landowners. This was achieved through an agrarian reform in those parts of Yugoslavia which before the war belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, while Serbia itself had from the first always a country of small independent landowners. Hungary, on the contrary, remained mostly a country of big landowners who had a decisive influence on Hungarian policy. It was difficult for them to work together with Yugoslavia which was a believer in agrarian democracy.

I have tried to explain how, between two great wars, the world became conscious of its unity. Large and small nations were ready and able to live together. The strength and influence of the great nations were not diminished by the fact that the small nations, too, played their part to the full. On the contrary the great nations found, for the first time, that their influence was no longer considered by the small nations to be an instrument of tyranny but of protection. For their part the small nations saw that they too had a task to perform. And on many occasions they performed it in as high-minded a way as the great nations performed theirs. This does not mean that the international relationship which existed then was free from imperfections, maladjustments, egoisms or fears among the small and large nations; yet there was no need for a cataclysm such as this one to have come about. Still less does the experience of the two pre-war decades prove that peaceful international existence is impossible.

At the same time, I firmly believe that we must not forget that the formation of the first association of nations in the world was followed by a new cataclysm. We should not consider continuing along the same old lines just as if the war had not come about. Carefully considering both accomplishments and mistakes, we should hold fast to that which proved to be good and reject forever that which proved to be bad. One of the first lessons that we might learn from the experiences of the past is that it is as much to the interest of great nations as of small, that both alike should enjoy international freedom, together with the obligations and duties that come with it.

I hope that in this war we will learn the lesson that a lasting peace and a better future for mankind may be attained only if close collaboration and solidarity among the United Nations, who have throughout this war endured the same sacrifices and efforts, is continued after the victory. I, for my part, cannot believe that humanity can go through such an ordeal without learning this lesson.

"DENMARK UNDER THE NAZI HEEL"

An Address By

HIS EXCELLENCY, HENRIK KAUFFMAN,

DANISH AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES.

Chairman: The President, Mr. W. Eason Humphreys.

Thursday, February 10, 1944

Mr. Humphreys: Co-operation is in these days a vital word, and our guest of honour, His Excellency, Henrik Kauffman, Danish Ambassador to the United States, believes especially in co-operation between the Scandinavian countries. He believes in, and works for, what he calls a United Scandinavia.

Today, however, His Excellency considers with us: "Denmark Under the Nazi Heel".

Denmark, an independent kingdom from the beginning of history until the German occupation. By the way, Denmark covers 16,000 square miles—Ontario 320,000, but the population is about the same. Denmark that gave us Hans Christian Andersen and Hans Christian Oerstedd, the discoverer of the aluminum process.

We are honoured in this opportunity to meet the man who would not accept orders which, he suspected, the Germans forced his government in Copenhagen to issue. Thus, in 1941, His Excellency signed the famous agreement with the United States regarding the defence of Greenland.

Under duress, the government in Copenhagen was forced by the Germans to dismiss our guest, but neither he nor the United States Government recognized the dismissal as valid.

His Excellency, a Doctor of Law, University of Copenhagen, also studied at Oxford and Geneva.

After serving with the Royal Dutch Guard, his diplomatic career took him to the United States in 1913. Afterwards, he went to Germany, Italy, Tokyo, Pekin and back to America, where he is now Danish Minister to the United States, as well as administrator of the functions usually carried out by a government, such as charge of Danish public funds in the United States, thus enabling the continuation of interest payments on public Danish dollar bonds.

Gentlemen: I have the honour to introduce His Excellency, Henrik Kauffman, Danish Ambassador to the United States.

MR. KAUFFMAN: I wish I were going to be here, not for five hours, but for at least five days. This is not my first visit to Ottawa. I have been here five or six times. I have had a good time on every visit, and I should like to have been able to make it longer. Perhaps I shall have a better chance the next time. When I was here last and had the pleasure of being a guest of your Club and listening to my friend Mr. Atherton speak, I was asked by another friend of mine, Dr. Keenleyside, whether I would not come up and address you one day, I said yes, I would with the greatest pleasure, and now I am here. It was difficult for me to get away. We have been having at Atlantic City at U.N.R.R.A., the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Conference. The Conference ends only tomorrow, but, having promised to be here, I wanted to live up to the Danish tradition; that is, once you have said yes, you stick to it.

I want to tell you a little bit about my country. Very few of you, with the exception of the American Ambassador, have been in Denmark. Let me begin by giving you a very brief description, and in doing so let me point out certain similarities and certain differences between Canada and Denmark. Many of the differences are quite striking. Canada is one of the largest countries in the world and Denmark is one of the smallest. Canada is a country that has been steadily growing and will probably be growing in the future. We have made great progress in science and engineering, and who knows but may be, before many generations pass, we can learn to take some of the excess heat of the Sahara and move it to colder spots and make not only the southern fringe but the whole of Canada a paradise on earth? My country, on the other hand, has been growing smaller in the centuries gone by. In the very old days King Canute of Denmark also ruled England. A little later the Kings of Denmark were also Kings of Norway and Sweden. Sweden we had already lost around 1500. The Kings of Denmark remained as Kings of Norway after the Wars of Napoleon. The Shetland and Orkney Islands were once Danish. One of the Danish princesses married one of the Kings of Scotland, and the King of Denmark promised as a wedding gift quite a considerable amount of gold. He could not pay that amount when the wedding came; so instead he handed over the Shetland and Orkney Islands. (Laughter.)

The Germans took away from us Schleswig and Holstein in 1864, and in 1940 they invaded my country, and today the only free spot in Denmark is Greenland. Greenland has just been mentioned by your president. Greenland is in a more fortunate position geographically than Denmark: it is not Germany that is our next-door neighbour, but Canada and the United States. I wish that the whole of Denmark were in such a good neighbourhood.

In order to talk about Denmark today, I think I must just give you a little bit of an idea of what Denmark was like before we were invaded. It is an agricultural country. We have no natural wealth, but we have a population that is well trained. I think the average honesty is not too bad. We are a co-operative people and we managed to build up during the last fifty years our reputation as exporters of butter, bacon and eggs.

It was mentioned that I was in Japan some years ago. I stood one day in front of an audience of Japanese youngsters who wanted to know about Denmark's economy. I felt that if I wanted to get anything across I had to do it in a very clear and simple way. So I started out by telling them that in Denmark we had considerably more pigs than human beings; we had the same number of cows as human beings; the amount of butter we sold to England annually about equalled in weight the total weight of the Danish population, including the fattest men—and some Danes are quite fat; the number of eggs that the people of England got on their breakfast tables every day, and that came from Denmark, equalled the number of inhabitants of Denmark—just under four million eggs a day.

The standard of living in Denmark was high. We were probably one of the most democratic peoples in Europe. We were believers in the principle that very few people should have too much and still fewer too little.

When we were invaded, on the 9th of April, 1940, the invasion came without any warning. Our Government was not faced with the choice of leaving the country or remaining there. Once the fighting had to be stopped to avoid complete destruction of the country, our government was faced with the choice of going on strike, you might say, and telling the Germans: "We have not been able to defend our country. Our airfields are bombed. We have therefore, in order to save our population, hoisted the white flag, so to speak. But we still have nothing to do with the administration of the country. That is now your responsibility." That was one alternative. The other alternative was to carry on the administration, trying to act as a brake on the Nazi encroachment and preserve as much as possible of the Danish way of life. The latter course was chosen; but upon that day, it seemed to me, the Government of Denmark no longer was a free Government; and I know that that is also the view held by the man in the street in every Danish city and by every Danish farmer.

I felt that I ought to draw two conclusions from that fact. One was that I should act on my own; that I should follow my conscience and that I could no longer accept orders from Copenhagen as orders of a free government. It was my great privilege to be in a country that, in spite of being neutral, backed me and helped me to carry out that policy and has done so now for practically four years. The other conclusion that I drew was that as long as I considered the people, the government and my King not to be free I was not to judge them as being free and treat their actions as actions of free people.

Since the invasion of Denmark the picture at home has changed considerably. It was a country where there were great similarities with Canada. We did not have the wide open spaces, but I think we had been able to create in Denmark on a smaller scale what approaches, I think, the best way possible on this earth of living happily. Our hospitals were good. Our schools were first-class. Every little farmer had a nice and neat little garden, and people had, I think, the pleasures that it is possible to provide on this earth of ours.

Now, of course, things in Denmark look different. I am often asked, "What is the situation like? Are the people starving? Have the Germans taken everything away?" I should like to answer that by giving you a little brief picture of how the German war machine works in a country like Denmark. It would not pay the Germans to remove all the Danish cattle. That would be killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. We have today in Denmark about five-eighths of the cattle that we had before, a little over half the pigs we had before, and about one-quarter of the chickens. The production of butter has gone down considerably more, because the cows were not fed the way they used to be. The Germans are taking out of the country what they can in the way of meat and butter and fats, but owing to the fact that they have to take it out of the country and that it is not possible to have a Gestapo man in every town, the people in Denmark are much better off than in some of the other occupied countries, who depend on imports of food from Germany or are in other ways at the mercy of the Germans in order to get food.

When I am asked the question, "Do the Germans pay for what they get?" I have to say both yes and no. They pay in one way, because the farmer gets Danish notes; but our Danish Central Bank has to provide the bank notes. The Germans buy all these on credit coming to our Central Bank and forcing our bank to provide them with the necessary funds, and then saying to us, "What could be better than to have a huge credit balance in the Reichbank in Berlin? When Hitler has conquered the world, then he will see to it that that credit balance in Berlin can be used by you in Denmark"; just as Hitler tells the people of Holland, Norway or Belgium that they do not need to worry over the credit balances that they have accumulated in Germany during the last four years.

The people in Denmark realize, of course, that their credit balance is not worth anything at all. We have figured that we have lost about one-third of our national wealth. What Denmark will be like when this is all over we do not know. We do not know how long the war is going to last, and we do not know what the last phase is going to be like. As long as the Germans think that the war will last for an indefinite time they will probably not take all the cattle away, because they will want the cow to go on producing milk and butter and so on, and that can be done better, for the Germans, in Denmark than in Germany itself. But they have told us that we can be sure of one thing; that is, that the German collapse will not come about this time the way it did the last time. They say to us: "Germany will not collapse," but even if, for the sake of argument, we want to know what happens in case Germany should be defeated, then, they tell us, nothing will be left of Denmark. They have mined most of our factories and they tell us that before they leave they will blow up whatever there is.

The people in Denmark realize that they may have to start from scratch again, but that is something that does not worry them so very much. There is one thing that takes precedence over everything else in the heart of a Dane, and that is that he is not only hoping and praying, but he is also working for the hour of liberation.

A free Denmark, no matter how poor is something that to every Dane seems heaven, compared to the conditions in Denmark today.

Some of you may have heard about the sabotage in Denmark during these last months. Sabotage has been on the increase, and when I am asked why that is the case I say there are several reason for that. One reason is that there is more hope in every occupied country today than a year ago. Another reason is that the Danes, who are matter-of-fact, practical people, realize that now their sabotage can be of more use than it could in the beginning.

Denmark today is the only line of communication overland between Germany and Norway. Most of the traffic has to go through Jutland. During one night the railroad going up through Jutland was blown up in twenty different places.

The last reason I should like to mention is the feeling of justice. The decency of the Dane has been outraged more than ever by things that lately have happened. A couple of months ago the Nazis transported Norwegian prisoners through Denmark; not only men, but women, too and children. That could not be concealed from the Danes, and when they saw it they went on strike. Their sabotage flared up more than it ever had before.

Hitler decided about two months ago on deportation of the Danes of Jewish faith and race in Denmark. There are very few Jews in Denmark compared to most other countries. There are about five thousand, all told, in Denmark, and when Hitler said that it was the Jews who flared up anti-Nazi feeling, that it was the Jews who caused the sabotage, every Dane knew that it was exactly the opposite of the truth. The German officials in Denmark were against deportation; they realized that it would not pay; but these were orders that came from Hitler, and when that is the case they have to be obeyed. Two ships were sunk by Danish patriots while the ships were lying in the harbour of Copenhagen, before they were loaded with the Danish Jews. The third one the Nazis managed to get away with eleven hundred people. The oldest was a woman of 101; the youngest was a babe in arms. The Germans also took people who were not Jews, and quite a number who were only "half Jews", to use Hitler's phrase. They promised then to return the ones who had been taken by mistake, and to give names of people they deported. The reply came three weeks later: that for technical reasons no information could be given. Nothing has been heard about those eleven hundred people who were dragged away.

However, during the last month there have been happening in Denmark incidents that are more on the happy side of things. When the deportation of Jews started all the Danes resented it, and every Dane tried to help. To give you one incident: a truck loaded with inmates of a Jewish home for aged was just going to leave with a Gestapo man, and all the people were going to be dragged off to Germany, or Poland, when a young man jumped out from behind a bush, killed the Gestapo man and drove off with the truck, and those old people are now in safety in Sweden.

There has been splendid co-operation and on the dark nights people in Denmark help their persecuted nationals to escape across the Sound. The Germans have killed some; but apparently the German patrol is not as effective as it was in the beginning. Very many were bribed, and I think there may also have been some Germans who were willing to help. We know that with these people who escape there are also German soldiers who escape to Sweden. That, of course, creates always difficult problems, because we can never be sure whether they really are refugees or are spies. We know that some of them were spies. Others may have been genuine people who wanted to escape the Nazi rule.

The developments in Denmark now, where we have direct German military control, where our King is virtually a prisoner and there is no Danish Government functioning, cannot really be foreseen with any accuracy. We still have in Denmark today Danish officials who try to protect the affairs of the country as mayors, or in the different departments and so on. They are left with no choice. The other day the German general in command moved his headquarters to Jutland, and he said, "Now I must have a number of Danish officials with me." They said: "We cannot do that. We don't see that that is necessary. We will stay in Copenhagen." He said, "Well, if you don't go it is a strike, and a strike means the death penalty." It is my feeling that nearly everybody in Denmark today who is an official tries to save what he can for the people of Denmark. But in their hearts the whole Danish nation is looking forward and wants to make its contribution to the victory of the United Nations.

I know a man who was talking to an Englishman who left Denmark—managed to leave after the invasion. He said to him: "Well, let us hope it will not be too long before your soldiers come and help us to liberate the country. Be sure of one thing. Tell your friends not to come with one gun, but to bring an extra gun each, because we want to be in the fight. We want to do our share." (Applause.)

Denmark today is what I have tried to give you a brief picture of. Denmark tomorrow, I think, is going to be a country where you will find the political views of the people very much the same as they have been for the last twenty or thirty years. We are a decidedly democratic people. We will remain so. We will remain so, no matter how long the Nazi domination lasts. Europe may be a place where there will be a great deal of civil strife and a great deal of killing once the actual international warfare stops, but that will not be the case in Denmark, because we are all united. We are happy and proud that there are no Quislings in my country.

As I said before, we shall have to start from scratch. We ardently hope that even if our country is devastated to a great extent, even if financially we are "broke", our people will be able to build up again their agriculture and their industry. The people have the knowledge, and in the course of a couple of years it should be possible to replenish our herds, to provide feed for our cattle and to start again the whole machine that made it possible for us to provide Europe with the goods that now are so badly needed.

The economic future of Denmark, taking a more long-range point of view, it is impossible to say anything about, because we do not know at all what the world is going to be like. The small country of Denmark depends even more than larger countries on free trade. Our whole standard of living was based on an exchange of goods. If we are to buy goods that we have not got—we have no minerals, we have no coal—we have factories, but not enough to produce all the manufactured goods that we need—we must be able to sell, and what we have to sell is mainly our agricultural products. We have fine machinery and ships, and our shipping is a source of income, of foreign exchange. You will therefore find that Denmark will want, as soon as the emergency period is over, a world where the boundaries are not so high that goods cannot cross them. We look forward to a world where customs duties are low, where there are as few restrictions on trade as possible. We look forward to a world where we can compete on an even chance.

We know, however, that in the emergency period before us, it would be completely impossible to revert to the good old days of free trade, and the people of Denmark are prepared to co-operate in any international scheme that is being worked out by the United Nations. Already, before the war, we used to give up certain sovereign rights. Every agreement, commercial or otherwise, every treaty in a way, you may say, is a restriction of sovereign rights. We had arbitration treaties with any country that was willing to make an arbitration treaty with us. We were ready to go beyond that and to make reciprocal trade arrangements, to bind our tariffs and so on, if we could get partners to do it with us, and now, after this war, I am convinced that the Danes are ready to go very much further. We are willing to accept anything that would be found acceptable by the United Nations. There is one condition that I think every Dane would like to make, and that is that the people whom he is dealing with shall be decent people. That is why we have not been able to deal with the gangsters who are overrunning our country at present. Our thoughts all go out to the nations who are fighting Hitlerism. We are longing for the day when we can be united with them, and anything, as I said before, that can be worked out as an international scheme to build up a better world we will give a blank cheque for. We want to be in on the building of a better world, and, together with others, we will undertake any limitations and make any sacrifices.

Thank you. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Kauffmann, your story of Denmark and of your valiant countrymen has proved intensely interesting and informative. On behalf of this Club I wish to offer you our very sincere thanks. (Applause.)

The meeting will close with the singing of the National Anthem.

"PRESENT CONDITIONS IN CHINA"

An Address By

DR. JOHN CALVIN FERGUSON, B.A., Ph.D., LL.D.

Chairman: The President, Mr. W. Eason Humphreys.

Thursday, February 17, 1944

Mr. Humphreys: Gentlemen: Last year when this Club considered China, I mentioned some facts worth repeating today. These are: China has fought for freedom for thirty-two years. She has been at war with aggression from without for ten years. The nations now united with her have experienced war for only about half that time.

These facts are worth remembering, for we are to hear about "Present Conditions in China" from a distinguished Canadian, unusually well qualified to discuss those conditions—our guest, Dr. John Calvin Ferguson, B.A., Ph.D., LL.D.—so recently repatriated in the steamship *Gripsholm*.

Gentlemen, I hope I do not transgress if I take a few minutes regarding this opportunity of outstanding importance—an occasion of a lifetime.

Today's meeting has special significance for Ontario, and Toronto in particular.

A priceless possession of this community is the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto. A Chinese Library is part of its world-famous Chinese collection. That library was inspired by Bishop White, who secured Dr. Ferguson's co-operation when both gentlemen were in China.

Bishop White was in Honan when the famous Wu Library there became available. It was known that the custodians were anxious that the library be lodged somewhere in the British Empire. Bishop White and Dr. Ferguson shared the cost of the library with the late Sir Robert Mond and Dr. Sigmund Samuel—the latter Past

Vice-President of this Club. Thus, this wonderful collection of 50,000 priceless volumes was brought to the Royal Ontario Museum, where they are available to students and, indeed, to the public.

The collection contains the most complete set of a very ancient Chinese Encyclopedia. There are 97 volumes, which were produced in 1240 A.D., during the Mongol Dynasty, 200 years before Claxton invented the printing press.

The only other outstanding Chinese library in North America is at Harvard University.

By the way, the British Museum has an incomplete set of approximately 80 volumes of this Chinese Encyclopedia, and the authorities there expressed considerable surprise upon learning of our collection at the Royal Ontario Museum.

Now, three of the four gentlemen responsible for this library are present today. Our guest of honour, Dr. Ferguson, Bishop White, and Dr. Sigmund Samuel. I hope Dr. Samuel will forgive me for telling you that he it was who donated the special wing in which the library is housed.

You are perhaps aware that the University of Toronto has established a Chinese Scholarship—that scholarship being under the direction of Bishop White. The Chinese class now has over 40 students. Much of this and future success has been and will be due to the existance of the Chinese collection to which I have referred.

And now, a word about our guest.

Dr. Ferguson has a long, distinguished career. He has been advisor to the National Government of China, President of Nanking University, and President of Nan Yung College.

Our guest has held several semi-political positions—such as Secretary to the Chinese Minister of Commerce, and also to the Chinese Imperial Railway Administration.

Dr. Ferguson has conducted several special missions and, several times, acted as Delegate for the Chinese Government. In fact, he has been in the service of the Chinese Government almost continuously.

In 1912 our guest was Delegate for that Government to the 9th International Red Cross Convention at Washington, and later represented China at the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armament and Far Eastern questions. Dr. Ferguson was also honoured with the Order of Merit of the Red Cross Society.

Dr. Ferguson's books are: *Outlines of Chinese Art* and *Chinese Mythology*.

Gentlemen, I have the honour to present to you a cousin of the Honourable G. Howard Ferguson, and our guest of honour today: Dr. John Calvin Ferguson, B.A., Ph.D., LL.D., who is to address us on "Present Conditions in China". (Applause.)

Dr. John Calvin Ferguson: Mr. President, Fellow Guests and Gentlemen: The President has said that I am among those who were repatriated from China on the *Gripsholm*. Today I must plead to having a double repatriation. I am a citizen of the United States, but was born in Canada, and today come back as a repatriate among you and as one of you.

I was pleased when the President introduced me as a Canadian. That has not often happened in my lifetime. I was very pleased, Mr. President, that you included me among yourselves.

The repatriation from Canada is the part of my life which leads me to speak today to you on the question of "Present Conditions in China", for which I was repatriated from China where I had spent practically all my life.

I have not had the pleasure of speaking in this city since the Conference for Disarmament to which the President referred in his introduction, when in 1922, just about this time or perhaps a little earlier in the New Year, I spoke to the Canadian Club at that time on the results of the Conference up to that date, which had included very much of interest and benefit and future profit to the new Republic of China.

That Disarmament Conference had as part of its organization a conference for the consideration of affairs in the Pacific Ocean.

Yet I find on coming home that too little is known about China's contribution to the Allied Nations and the part she can contribute to the winning of this war.

The seriousness of the condition in which China finds herself has been continuously impressed upon the public by my friend, Mr. Grew, who was Ambassador to Tokyo, perhaps more than anyone else, as it fell to his lot to try and straighten out so many of the things that occurred in China since Japan started her enterprise on July 7, 1937. Mr. Grew has continuously called attention to the seriousness of the situation in which the other United Nations find themselves in their plans for a victory in the Pacific Ocean.

Recently the President of the United States has called attention to this fact and has said that our most difficult military operations are ahead of us, not behind us.

Recently, Admiral Nimitz and General Stillwell, who is fighting in Burma, have also called attention to the fact that there must be landings on the coast of China. All of them agree that the importance of the winning of the was not only points toward Europe but points also to the Pacific Ocean.

It is in support of this general premise that I am calling your attention today to the large amount of territory belonging to China that has already been occupied by Japan and out of which she must be turned before the war can be considered a victorious war in the Pacific.

Occupied China, that is China occupied by Japan, might be compared perhaps to the Eastern Coast of the Atlantic. Take the Province of Quebec and this province, take your great granaries in the grain-raising provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan, which are similar to the Manchurian Provinces, take the province in which Peiping is located, the Province of Hopei, on down the coast, a territory which might be likened to the original thirteen colonies. Add to that Cuba—the Japanese occupied the Island of Hainan, which is about of the same importance that Cuba would be in the American layout—and you have approximately the part of China that is now occupied by Japan.

As to population, it is much higher than the total population of the United States and Canada put together. Probably if you took the British Isles, Canada and the United States, the population of this district which I have described as Occupied China would be about equal to it. That is somewhere in the neighbourhood of 200 million people.

If you then take into consideration that there are in this occupied part of China, provinces which are wealthy, not only in grain, but also in iron and in coal, you might add some of the parts of Canada and America in which these two essential elements for warfare are found.

There you have Occupied China. Between it and Free China—Unoccupied China—there is no particular section which could be called "No Man's Land", although there is a large section which could be called the "Land of Guerillas", and guerillas are also scattered throughout Occupied China. Occupied China, you might compare perhaps to the section of the United States—the great Province of Szechwan might be compared to Texas, and the coast provinces along the Pacific, including some of the fine mining districts at the foot of the Tibetan Hills, and there you would have Free China.

Now, it is impossible for us to come to any other conclusion than that the ousting of the enemy from the occupied part of China is one of the most difficult features in the war in which we are at present engaged. What has been accomplished has been wonderful. General MacArthur, having left the Philippines and taken command of the Allied Forces, stopped the advance upon Australia and New Zealand, stopped the advance on India and now is island-hopping toward the enemy. That of itself will require patience and a very large supply of war material, but after that is accomplished, there will still remain the half million troops that the enemy has in China's occupied territory—in Manchuria, on the Russian border—and perhaps a million men in the provinces along the east coast of the country.

I need only mention the size of the district involved, and the number of people resident in that occupied district along with the number of troops which the enemy has in that district, to impress upon you the importance of the task we have in hand.

In addition to the occupation by the army of this district, this large district, there is their possession of the means of communication. They have all the railways. First, they have the railway across Siberia, which perhaps many of you may have been on, which was taken over from the border of Manchurian Provinces, southward to the territory bought by Japan from the Russians. That makes a line of communication not only down through the northern provinces of China, the old Manchurian Provinces, but connects out with branch lines to the sea just west of Japan, the northern part of Korea, where Japan has two important ports from which she can send ships inland, and carry her troops back and forth as she pleases. From that railway south to Peiping down to Soochow, there is a very rich mining province, reaching from Peiping southward—I will speak of that in a moment—but from Peiping westward it reaches into the Province of Suiyjan, from Peiping southward, out to the sea at Tsingtao and southward and westward into Shansi Province.

All of this is no longer in Chinese hands but is entirely controlled by the enemy. Not only controlled, but protected.

I saw in the early days of the Trans-Siberian Railway the military protection which the Russians devised for that land which extended through what to them was a more or less unknown or hostile country, but what the enemy has done in China is much more extensive, much more important than what Russia did in the protection of the Trans-Siberian Railway. On both sides of the railway they have dug deep trenches and by trenches I do not mean ordinary three or four feet wide trenches. They are trenches about twenty feet at the top and ten feet or so below. These ordinarily are flooded with water on both sides of the railway; from where the railway enters China proper, the Manchurian provinces, proper, both sides of the line are protected by ditches. There are many pill-boxes. The roofs of all the stations have been flattened and guns placed on them. Every train carries armed guards. The important passenger trains have before them an armed pilot engine. Every precaution is being taken, not that the public shall be protected in travelling, but that the transportation for troops and supplies for troops may be secure and they are secure, to a certain extent.

When we came down from Peiping to Shanghai, the group which was being repatriated in the north, there were three accidents on the line. That was unusual. That is there were three places in which there had been derailments or the track torn up or a bridge taken away. That was done by the guerillas but everywhere they have taken the utmost pains, not only to control the railway but to protect it.

The same is true of the waterways. China had a good fleet of steamers previous to 1937, that had gradually been built up. It was known as the China Merchant Steam Navigation Company and had sufficient good standing so that it was in co-operation with the two British firms, and these three organizations, two of them British and one of them Chinese, were working in co-operation, not only in the coast-wise trade, but also in the trade on the Yangtse Sea.

These are all gone now. Many of the British ships were taken away in time and a few of the Chinese ships. The rest of them were seized and at the present time there is no shipping, either on the Yangtse Sea or on the coast which is not controlled by the enemy.

In the occupied part of China the whole of the previous equipment for communications by air, boats for mail and passengers, and for military operations, that has all disappeared.

It is a very dark dismal picture that I present to you. The unfortunate part of it all is that it is true and even of greater importance than the few words which I am able to express to you today can tell you.

But there is another side to the situation and that is the spirit of the Chinese people. Here I am not speaking in terms of flattery or in terms of wishful thinking, but also of actual facts. The spirit of the Chinese people has been simply marvellous since 1937. Everywhere people have rallied to make up for the mistake of having been caught napping. They were the first of the nations of the world to be caught napping. Their experience ought to have taught the rest of the world not to have been caught, but we paid too little attention to what was going on in the Far East, and it is to help to avoid that condition of mind for the future that I am speaking to you today.

It took too much for granted, and in 1937 the Japanese army walked in with very little resistance in the north, with strong resistance at Soochow and Shanghai, but finally, with so poor equipment as compared with that of the enemy, that they were driven first westward, toward Hankow, and from there to the Province of Szechwan.

We had our own period of being over-confident, as you all know. The loss of Hong Kong and Singapore, the loss of the Philippine Island, the great debauch at Pearl Harbor might have been avoided if our Allied Nations at that time had given sufficient importance to the events that were happening, that had happened in China.

Due warning had been given by the example of what had happened to China. But Chinese names are hard to remember. Chinese faces are difficult to distinguish. In my early years of acting, frequently on behalf of the Chinese Government, one of the problems in the European capitals was that the Chinese names were so difficult they could never remember the name of more than one man at a time. They knew Chiang Kai Shek, but apart from that they couldn't remember the name of more than one man at a time. Perhaps the fact that they are spelled in combinations which it is easier for us to remember than the usual spelling of the names in Chinese makes it possible for Japanese names often to be remembered more easily than the names of leading Chinese.

This spirit of opposition on the part of the Chinese from the commencement of the Japanese operations in 1937, I repeat, has been splendid. We have had a generation of young men, one or two of whom I am glad to see with us here today, who have been brought up in the traditions since the Revolution of 1911 and 1912. No one questioned that all the young men and young women of China would be enthusiastic in their support of the Government. There was doubt as to the attitude of the older generation who were more content as the years went on with their well being as it was, and without so much ambition for the future.

There was also the attitude of the large number of Chinese who had been educated in Japan. For after the Russo-Japanese war the great movement of Chinese students was not toward the west but toward Japan. They had believed that Japan had been able to take the essential parts of our western civilization and assimilate them for use in the development of their new oriental countries, and after Japan had succeeded in defeating Russia the Chinese wanted to know the secret of her success, the secret that she had learned from the west and had adopted to her own use.

At one time there were more than 20,000 Chinese students in Japan, along about 1907 or '08. That number has fallen to a lower limit but still has remained until the outbreak of war in 1937, much higher than the number of students altogether who went abroad to other countries.

These received a smattering of an education. A few of them received very sound and thorough education. The majority of them, however, were content with what I have just called a smattering of education. But it was sufficient for them to realize what Japan, where they had studied, had accomplished in her progress in the world.

These men to a large extent were naturally not conversant with Japanese things, but also, more or less prejudiced in their favour and they had this conviction that Japan, having taken the civilization of the West and converted it to its own use, it would be an easier process to take this converted civilization and adapt it to China than to go through the process of digestion themselves by sending students to the West.

It is the process of our predigested breakfast foods, compared with the oatmeal on which we were brought up, that came fresh from the mill.

That was a sincere conviction on the part of many and was an asset to the invading power because this group believed that when the Japanese came to China they would be able to join with them, oust the government which had received most of its impetus from Western countries, and take over the control of their own country which would not work in with western nations, but would work in with Japan.

The proposition had much to be said for it, we must say, speaking objectively. But as soon as they put it in operation they found that the Japanese had come, not to co-operate but to control, not to work with the Chinese, but to have the Chinese work for them, and one by one they have gone over, they have been disillusioned and have come to the conclusion that the solution of China's problems for the future cannot be in co-operation with Japan, but against Japanese policy.

I should say that among all that pro-Japanese group which I knew, which we all knew were part of the community, occasionally if there was one man who was too fervent in his support of that policy he would be turned down by the community, but as a group they were received as loyal Chinese and as Chinese who had a different viewpoint of what the foreign connections of China should be. But once they came into contact with Japan, with Japan in action, with Japan in control, they soon were obliged to change their opinions and know that Japan had no idea of co-operation with China but intended to control China for her own use.

I heard a very witty Chinese friend say that the motivation of the co-operation was only the necessity of Japan, that there was no such thing as co-operation—it was Japanese co-operation and Chinese consent.

The attitude of the people was at first what it usually had toward the Government—as long as the government didn't bother them they didn't bother the government. As long as anybody left in control had the good old fashioned idea inherited from the time of the sages, that that government was best which governed least.

And I presume that that is a doctrine which we advanced people of the west may some day take to our hearts as having had the experience of the ages to confirm it. However, that is too heterodox even to suggest at the present time in our world regard.

Now, in view of the amount of territory occupied by Japan and in view of the Chinese people and the way in which they have stood up in their constant resistance to the enemy, what can be done for the future?

It seems to me that the first thing that must be emphasized is to persevere. There must be no yielding. There must be no compromise. This has been the great point of the Generalissimo Chiang Kai Shek. He may not be a great soldier, he may not be a great administrator, but he has been a stubborn, strong, steady, unflinching, persevering opposer to the invading power. He and his Administration may be criticized for weakness here or failure there, but with no possibility of criticizing that administration as to its strength in resistance, and that resistance must go on. Never say "Die"—even after defeat.

We, ourselves, had Dunkirk and Pearl Harbour and all the rest of it. And we have stuck it. But the Chinese started that idea of persevering in steady opposition for nearly four years before we were involved in the war, and they are still at it. They have lost more men, directly and indirectly, by the war than Russia and Germany combined, adding our small losses up to the present to it all. And that loss has not been with the aid of our army. That loss must be accounted as gain to us in time for our own preparation to defend our own countries in their desire to live the democratic life.

Perseverance. We must go on.

Next, we must stick together. This is a difficult proposition. I sometimes think of us as four triangles. You take those triangles, one representing Great Britain, and one representing America, and you put them together any way you want to. Any of the sides will fit on to another side. Any side of America in any triangle will fit on to any side of the British triangle and will work.

We have had Cairo and we have Teheran. You can take the Russian triangle and fit it in some spots. Some spots, it is difficult, either with America or with Great Britain.

You can take the Chinese triangle and in spots fit it to the Russian or the American or the British triangle. But until the time comes when we can take those four triangles and make out of them a solid square, we still have negotiations to be carried on. We still have to consult, but in principle we must take this decision that for good or evil we must stick together to the end of this business. (Applause.) And that sticking together must be of those four triangles until they form a square, and those triangles must be infused with a spirit which will make it possible for any one of those triangles on any one side of the surface to come in contact with the triangles that represent the other countries at any place in which we put them to make a solid square for presentation against the enemy.

Furthermore, we must help China at once. China is in a difficult position. The Burma Road is a very small road. You run one train from Winnipeg to Montreal or Quebec with seventy-five or eighty cars and one big locomotive carrying as many supplies on that one train as you can run on the Burma Road for a week or ten days or two weeks.

If you are going to fly it over, when you are flying on your own gas, how much gas have you left to give to the people to whom you are flying it, and yourself get back to the base you started from? How much have you left? Very little. So the flight over the great humps is a very difficult proposition.

Russia, on the north, has supplied a great deal to China and will continue to do so, but Russia is very pressed for herself. What we must do is what has recently been suggested, and what it seems that all of the able military air authorities agree upon, that is that landings must be made along the coast of China. If that is done we may expect to pay the price of it, just as we are paying the price of it now in Italy and as we can be prepared to pay the price on the north coast of Europe when the landing is made there.

But the price, Mr. President and Gentlemen, we must be ready to pay and we must be ready to pay it as soon as an opportunity presents itself. China must be helped, and helped at once. This is the burden of my message to you, Mr. President. (Applause.)

MR. HUMPHREYS: Gentlemen, I am going to ask an old colleague of our guest, Bishop White, to thank our guest on our behalf.

BISHOP WHITE: Mr. President, you have done me a great honour or given me a great privilege to express the appreciation of all of us this afternoon to the speaker for this message direct from the front, because, as we have heard, he has just come back from China, so he has been able to give us this picture of the present conditions in China.

But I want to say just one word on this. He has just lifted the corner of the curtain of what he could tell us about China. It was forty-seven years ago—that day the 17th of February—that I reached Shanghai, and that was when I heard of Dr. Ferguson. He was an educationalist and as you notice by the call of this card, he was at that time at the point of giving up the Presidency of Nanking University and taking the Presidency of another one, a very important college, the Han Yang College.

Not only is he an educationist but he has through these years perhaps done more than any man I know of in connection with the upheaval and change and reconstruction that this generation, and more nearly two generations, have brought to us in connection with China, more than any other man, I say, as a statesman, because his help has been sought for in the highest political circles in all the changes of government we have had in China.

It has been mentioned here with regard to the honour in connection with the Red Cross work, but if we could only know the number of honours that have come to him through the great work he has done and that has been recognized by the Government of China.

The first decoration that came to me from China was through Dr. Ferguson. I think he forgot about it until I reminded him of it a couple of days ago. That was in 1910 when he was organizing a great Famine Relief movement from Shanghai.

Well, not only in statesmanship, not only in educational work, but in journalism, he has been prominent in the life of China. Now there are very few like Dr. Ferguson. Dr. Ferguson has so stuck to China that we in the West haven't heard from him or know of him except through those who have been following his work closely or are interested in it themselves. You know, journalism in China is a recent thing, but now it has taken hold in a wonderful way and I suppose what was done by Dr. Ferguson in setting the standard of modern journalism in China in that daily, of which I just found out—I knew it had a very high circulation for those days—I just got from him before he spoke that when he handed it over to Chinese hands it had a circulation of 180,000. For those days that was very great and that standard has been impressed upon all succeeding journalistic work in China.

Then I might mention about the China *Journal of Arts and Sciences,* which has been a wonderful help to us all.

In art, in archaeology, in education, in journalism, in the political arena where his help has, as I have said, been sought, he has been a pioneer, and to be a pioneer in these constructive days in China, days of great change and great moment to the rest of the world, that is something to be proud of.

So this afternoon I know for this brief—short, it had to be—picture of present conditions in China, we give you our heartfelt praise and thanks to Dr. Ferguson. (Applause.)

"THE PLANS UNFOLD"

An Address By

RIGHT HONOURABLE E. LESLIE BURGIN, P.C., LL.D., M.P.

Chairman: The President, Mr. W. Eason Humphreys.

Thursday, February 24, 1944

Mr. Humphreys: To convert railways, inland transport, ports, and docks, the generation and distribution of electricity, from a peace footing to a war footing, to contemplate measures necessary should the east coast ports of Britain be rendered unavailable, were only a part of many pre-war responsibilities assigned to our guest, the Righ Honourable E. Leslie Burgin, P.C., LL.D., M.P.

It was Dr. Burgin who played so important a part in the collection of strategic materials and the making of preparations for national defence.

It was he who, in the spring of 1939, became Britain's first Minister of Supply, organizing the then new department, giving it official existence through the processes of Parliament.

Famous men were on Dr. Burgin's Supply Council—Lord Woolton, Sir Andrew Duncan, Lord Catto, Col. Llewellin and others.

As Board of Trade Minister and, subsequently, Minister of Transport, our guest travelled widely, not only in the United Kingdom, but many times to Canada, the United States, Northern Africa, Cairo, France, Belgium, Holland, and the Scandinavias.

Unfortunately, time does not permit the telling of Dr. Burgin's many scholastic accomplishments, nor of the national and international service he has rendered. Only a few of these can be mentioned:

Our guest is a Doctor of Laws, University of London, as well as a member of the Senate of that University; a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts; a Governor of several public schools, member of the Council of the Law Society, a former principal of the Law Society's School of Law, a member of the International Law Association, and Chairman of the Arbitration Commission of the International Chamber of Commerce.

Leslie Burgin has been present in the House of Commons on all great occasions, besides taking part in the Inner Councils of Britain.

Therefore, few men are better qualified to discuss the subject chosen for today's address: "The Plan Unfolds". Gentlemen: The Right Honourable E. Leslie Burgin, P.C., LL.D., M.P.

MR. BURGIN: Mr. Chairman, Members and Guests of The Empire Club: A distinguished Prime Minister of Great Britain, a known lover of music, was once asked what music he liked the best. He replied, quite simply, "I know nothing finer than the music of welcome." I think he was right. And so I begin by thanking you all today for the warmth of the welcome which you have been good enough to give me once again in this great city of Toronto.

I left London some six weeks ago. I have been to the Pacific Coast. I have made some dozen or more addresses in the cities of the West and count myself especially fortunate to be here in the heart of Ontario today.

Mr. Winston Churchill's War Review in the British House of Commons, made on Tuesday in this week, is the first that I have not myself listened to from my place on the floor of the House. As usual, it was stirring tonic call. A majestic review of events and a staggering assemblage of facts, figures and arguments which will bear study and examination for all time.

It is in the light of that great pronouncement that I choose as my topic today "The Plans Unfold"—simple plain words which contain a wealth of meaning to us all and to all in range of my voice. and the words, "Sea, Land and Air," the names of all the United Nations, and as a title at the head of the plans there is written this phrase: "Our sacrifice to keep and gain freedom from tyranny." The plans reflect my Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Churchill's, words. Mr. Churchill's own words cannot be bettered.

We all agreed at Teheran the thing above all others to which we are bound in solemn pact and that is to fall upon the Hun by land, sea and air with all the strength that is in us during the coming spring and summer.

The plans unfold. They do indeed. We are privileged to live in an age of tremendous achievement. Great events happen in our time, and we are on the threshold of even greater. We must however be realists. Victory, like anything else that is worth while, will not come by itself. Victory must be earned, and won; earned by us all and won by us all. And that is why plans for victory have been made. The plans unfold, and on the bundle of plans there is inscribed the name of almost every country of the world.

Plans do not always unfolk. If you open a roll of plans or maps, they sometimes defeat your purpose, and with a snap roll themselves up again into the very space from which you have tried to spread them out. And plans have another habit. They do not always work as their authors intended. Let me remind you of some instances of plans that have gone astray.

Did not Napoleon plan to capture Russia in 1815? Did not Napoleon's imitators plan to capture Russia in 1942, and again in 1943? Did not the Kaiser talk of the "contemptible little army"? Did not Hitler intend to win the Battle of Britain? Do you remember that delightful story of the W.A.A.F. cook at one of the aerodromes on the Kentish coast, when asked to describe her most exciting experience as a cook on an aerodrome? "Yes, sir, when pieces of falling German aeroplanes kept tumbling into the frying pan!" Was not Stalingrad to have been captured? Can you not hear that strident voice from Berlin saying, time and time again, "and make sure, captured it will be." How loud was the cry of Sieg Heil that followed that boast.

Centuries ago a British captain of a man-of-war—at that time a sailing ship—spied an enemy ship in the Channel with something very curious about its mast. There was a broom attached to it, and the signal of the Dutch captain was that he was going to sweep the British from the sea. That too, if I read my history aright, was a plan that did not work as its author intended.

We are talking of plans for war, and not for peace. Do you know the difference? Let me remind you of the station master on the London, Midland and Scottish Railway, back in the Old Country, who said, "The difference is very simple. In peace time you put the freight train into a siding and let the passenger train through. In war time you put the passenger train into the siding and let the freight train through." How very true! How often and no doubt how justifiably often—the passenger finds himself in the siding and is permitted to watch the passage of the weighty supplies of war.

Before these plans for 1944 unfold, they had to be made. They were made in Washington, in Casablanca, in London, in Cairo, in Moscow, and in Teheran. What giants our leaders are! Regardless of age, of distance, of change of climate, of differences in standards of civilization, these giants leading the United Nations traverse oceans, defy heat and cold, defy fatigue, and meet at places of their choice. They are accompanied by their Chiefs of Staff, and their experts, and decisions, not merely of general principle, but worked out so as to be capable of becoming immediately effective, are taken on the spot, and the 1944 plans are destined to bring the immense rising tide of Allied power increasingly to bear upon the anatomy of the enemy peoples. That is the task to bring the German Army and the Luftwaffe to battle—it matters little where—it is important to engage, to reduce and to defeat them.

Our greatest chagrin at the outbreak of the war in

1939 was the difficulty of British might reaching the enemy at all. Geography stood in the way. Poland was fighting for her life. British vessels could not get to her aid. There were no bases from which bombers and fighters could operate. There was no British army that could reach Poland by land. So, neither by sea, nor land nor air, could aid be brought or strength be wielded against the enemy, and for long that position remained. Attrition is a very slow weapon—pressure at the circumference takes long to reach the heart. How completely the scales have turned! Now there need not be an hour (except when London fog or British weather intervenes) when Germany is not subjected, herself and her satellite powers, to complete and total air bombardment. There is not hour when any of the occupied countries cease from worrying the lives out of the occupying power. The Navies of the United Nations ceaselessly plough the seas. All Africa having been freed, and the Mediterranean reopened, the Suez Canal put beyond danger, the Eighth and Fifth Armies, in bitter fighting, are making their way toward Rome. The glorious Russian armies hourly more closely approach the old frontiers, and in the Far East the Japanese are being driven from island to island, and on the mainland China fights on. The Allies bring supplies over the mountains to her aid. All these forces converge, and the plans for 1944 bring the measure of convergence closer, bring the tightening of the circle nearer, increase the pressure, hasten the pace, quicken the blow, and intensify the weight of attack. We have all been intensely heartened by the sober record of achievements detailed by Mr. Churchill to the British House of Commons this very week.

Let us look on some of these matters more closely. What heroism there is being performed, from the North Cape to the Pyrrenees, from the depths of Poland to the Atlantic Ocean, by men, women and children of the occupied peoples. What a lovely story from Denmark, of the crowd that waited for Rommel, and then, refusing to disperse, were asked by the German Police Force in occupied Denmark, "And what are you waiting for now?" The triumphant answer was, "For General Montgomery —For he always is close on the heels of Rommel!"

Do you not like the cartoon of the elderly gentleman of the English aristocracy, at the foot of the baronial stairs, addressing his butler. "Jeeves, every year since 1895 I have prophesied there would be trouble in the Balkans in the forth coming spring, and I rarely have been wrong." Certainly, the noble lord may count, if he is still addressing Jeeves in the same manner, that there will be trouble in the Balkans this forthcoming spring! And the gallantry of armies, navies and air forces is matchless—passes all frontiers, knows no distinction of nationality. The driver of a jeep, one of the first in the streets of Salerno, told me in London a few weeks ago how he and his three companions came down one of the hair-pin mountain roads of Italy in the Salerno neighbourhood. They were spotted by the German gunners as their jeep reached each corner and turn of the mountain road. They were going downhill, and by watching their time, the gunners always got the range on the corner of the road just as the jeep had left it. And so, in fits and starts, the came down the mountain—the gunners each time a lap behind. And in telling me the story, the jeep driver said, "Sir, if I had turned round and driven uphill again, I believe those gunners would have run out of ammunition."

But even so, with all this mighty advance from the East, Russia is still a long way from the true frontiers of Germany. She is a long way from the frontiers of Roumania, and attrition, as I have already reminded you, is a slow method. Let us never forget that the great mobility of the Russian army which has been such a marked feature of her campaigns, has been provided in large measure by American, Canadian and English trucks. The convoys to Murmansk have done wonderful service in the fitful hours of the Arctic winter daylight, whilst the work of the railway and roadbuilders in the Persian Gulf and in particular from Teheran to the Caspian, has been beyond praise. In spite of the immense difficulties and of every type of handicap, Russia has been, is being, and will continue to be supplied with bulk supplies by the Northern sea route, and by the Southern land approach. All, I may remind you, a reflection of sea power and of the immense importance of the dominant role played by His Majesty's navies from the homeland and from the Dominion of Canada. I pause to pay a simple tribute to the Contribution of Canada. It fell to me as Minister of Supply to receive the Canadian deputation in 1939 and to place the first orders with you.

You have given of your best in men, women, ships, weapons, stores, food and finance and your part in the great Empire Air Training Scheme can never adequately be measured in words.

It is no fault of yours if your weather conditions, clear skies and parallel railroad tracks, roads and rivers rather flatter the young men's skill at aerial navigation and mean that we have to add "dirty weather navigation" to your most excellent training.

The plans for 1944 include, not only the improvement and strengthening at every point in this vast armed encirclement of allied transport, but the attack and the destruction at every point within the circle of enemy transport. The Axis countries have left little mercantile marine. Not much can be moved in safety, even by coastal routes, whilst her railways, roads, canals, docks and harbours are being progressively "hamburged". I like the story of the briefing of the train-busting pilots who were sent across the English Channel to bomb trains in the north of France. Says the officer: "Where do you pilots bomb the trains?" Reply: "Wherever we can find them." "Do you do it in the open?" "What do you mean, in the open?" "Do you mean to tell me you do not choose the place?" "Ah," said an Australian pilot, "You mean bomb them on a bridge and get both train and bridge in one go!" "No," said the briefing officer, "I mean bomb the train at a tunnel so that you not only damage the train but the line as well." And the Australian pilot came back that day with a smile from ear to ear, for, carrying out his master's instructions he had bowled a googly into the tunnel, once he had seen the train go into, and in order to make certain, had gone round the other end and lobbed another into the other entrance, thus blocking not merely the engine, but the entire train, and immuring the whole in the most workmanlike fashion.

Now the dominant note in the plans is speed—the cadence, tempo, timing, is everything. Rhythm is one aspect of life. The air, as we know, is full of waves, and wireless is but the reflection of their frequency. Yes, speed for civilization is bleeding. Human resistance has limits. A continental winter, with little food, with almost no heat, with insufficient clothing to keep out the rigours of the weather, saps vitality, and one element, the resistance of the occupied peoples risks becoming a diminishing factor unless the time of their liberation is speeded up and advanced.

There was, nearly twenty centuries ago, a famous appeal, "Come over into Macedonia and help us!" How oft, how bitterly, is that cry repeated today, also alas from Macedonia with the added injunction, "But come quickly!"

And so the plans unfold. And here, in the first ten weeks of 1944, as the days in Europe begin to give almost the promise of spring, when campaigning seasons are obviously rapidly approaching, we witness the preparations for the ever quickening waging of the war in the West.

The rush for the enemy's main strongholds is about to take place. When Red Indians in the olden days attacked a white man's camp or fort, they slowly surrounded the place, silently took up positions, crawled their way forward to strategic places, and then, at a given signal, rushed all together from all the four corners at once on the luckless stockade and all was over.

Something of the same kind is being staged, but on a greater scale than ever before. The magnitude of it all cannot be measured in words. It is all embracing and almost world wide.

The attack this time is not on a single camp, a single stockade, a single fort, but on the entire country of the German enemy, the centre, the breeding place, the brain and heart of the whole cause of the war. The United Nations have surrounded their foes. They have silently taken up their positions, they have advanced and are advancing to their strategic places.

All is getting ready and the shout will one day be heard intended to spur on the attack and at the same dread moment provide the signal for the letting loose of all the martial forces—sea, land and air, which, taken together, will ensure the utter destruction of the armies of Hitler, his clique, and his associates and his followers.

What a scene! What moments in which to be privileged to exist!

In all great events the onlooker plays an important part. The crowd is as much a part of an international football match as the players.

But this is no sporting event. There is no game where good play meets the reward of a cheering multitude of friend and foe alike. This is no occasion where there is a referee and where there are touch judges on the sidelines. This is stark, dread war of machines and chemistry, on scales beyond all precedent, each side endeavouring to blast the other from the face of the earth.

We hold our breath as we see the contestants strip for action. Our minds hardly dare dwell on the extent of the sacrifices which are being made hourly and which are about to be made on ever greater scales.

There is not a single one of us here who has not some near and intimate relative and friend involved.

Armageddon. It is no less.

But side by side with these terrific and ever quickening preparations, we find by enquiry at headquarters that good news of what is happening is pouring in from other parts of the world. Look at the air attack on Germany. Look at Russia's advances and successes, look at the Pacific, look at Italy and Yugoslavia and above all look at the ceaseless waging of guerilla war by the occupied peoples of Europe.

And what were the German boasts? Planes that would drive the Allies from the air; tanks that would crush and defeat armies on land; U-boats that would scour the seas and prevent communications; and shock-troops who would defy all defences or resistance. It is in your recollection that these were the German boasts, and where, I ask you, are the boasts of yesteryear? His planes, at one time in such dread superiority, have been crashed in their thousands, have been chased and raced across the sky, have been stung by our Mosquitoes, and pounded to bits by Lancasters, Stirlings, Halifaxes, and by the great American Flying Fortresses and Liberators.

There are many left, of course. It is by no means over. No one pretends that for a moment, indeed the sharpness of enemy reprisals will certainly decrease as the Allied poundings itself is magnified, but the sting of the Stuka, the jeer of the Ju. 88, the drone of the Dornier, and the mischief of the Messerschmitt, have all been measured by the flying men of the United Nations, who have once again shewn themselves the salt of the earth. Can you think of anything finer in the history of human endeavour than the work of the air pilots, air crews and ground staffs.

The U-boat, that death-dealing devilry, has been hunted and depth-charged, driven from the depths to the surface, and there spotted and plotted by the shore-to-shore service of Coastal and other Commands. And how great is our debt for the use of the Azores! Ask anyone who has been in an Atlantic convoy. A stimulating experience.

Whilst the German infantry, fine troops certainly and well trained, brave as lions as they always were, have been found individually to be no match for the trained troops of the Empire—whether from Britain or overseas. I cite the 51st Highland Division as a conspicuous example—it is but one of many that I could as easily give.

So, one by one, the German trumps have been called, played and over trumped.

Their strength, still very formidable indeed, is necessarily on the wane. I remind you that the German army is the pride of the German people and until that army is defeated Germany will not collapse. I remind you of Sikorski's statement. The one way back to Poland is through a defeated Germany. I paraphrase the only way back to Freedom is through a defeated Axis. The Allies' strength is gathering momentum at every turn, and is on the up-grade. I should not like to be an A.R.P. worker in a German city of any size this winter. I can think of nothing comparable to the intensive rain of blockbusters that a modern R.A.F. outing appears to involve, and no fireman, however well equipped, can look with indifference on burning phosphorus. No, my friends, it is not a nice winter and will not be a nice spring nor a nice summer for the enemy.

But after all, why should it be? Did they hesitate to plunge the world into this boiling cauldron? Who was it who bombed Warsaw, Rotterdam, Belgrade, London, Coventry, Plymouth?

The plans unfold. They do indeed, and what plans they are! They are all-embracing. They reach to the uttermost ends of the earth. They extend to Japan as they do to Germany and all her satellite powers, her allies, whether willing or unwilling. They gather speed. They spell utter defeat. They are aimed at unconditional surrender. They will be content with nothing less. Remember Lenin's three rules of war: (1) Be not deceived by a victory, repeat it; (2) Consolidate and follow up every successful attack and repeat; (3) Destroy the enemy utterly.

As in every well prepared set of plans the draughtman's roll of plans will refer to the same composite enterprise. There will be a unity. There will be a comprehensive relation between one plan and the next, between each and all together, between the separate plans and the master plan.

So it is with the plans for 1944. These plans involve unity. The Empire as one, the United Nations all working together under a Supreme Commander-in-Chief, backed by the combined strength and determination of all in every part of the United Nations, we go forward into the unknown of the coming spring with our pulses beating more firmly, our eyes brighter, our hopes higher, and we bend our backs with a will because we are determined to exploit the Allied military, naval and air advantage to the full, sometimes forwards break through the opposing backs and play about passing to one another. We are going right through, and intend to shoot at the goal in front of us. It is not for us to speculate as to time all this will require, nor to answer the question, what is the duration of the duration? Enough if we individually and collectively put all our strength in the task. Then, God helping, victory will not be denied. We pledge ourselves to make that supreme effort, not either to faint or grow weary, but to keep right on to the end of the road.

I think perhaps I might conclude with the finest wartime prayer with which I am familiar: "May right overcome might. May truth overcome the lie. May love overcome all things."

"THE SACRIFICE, THE FALL, AND THE RESURGENCE OF FIGHTING FRANCE"

AN ADDRESS BY

E. ROBERT SCHMITZ.

Chairman: The President, Mr. W. Eason Humphreys.

Thursday, March 2, 1944

MR. HUMPHREYS: Music is a common denominator for nations and people. Because of this, and in the course of a lifetime, masters of that art find themselves in many parts of the world, with minds tuned to the spiritual, as well as the material, aspect of life.

Some are specially able in translating human trials and aspirations. One such is our guest of honour, Mr. E. Robert Schmitz, the great French pianist.

Mr. Schmitz started his distinguished musical career as a choir boy in Paris, and then, at the Conservatory there, he studied piano and violin.

The countries of Europe, the Orient and the Americas, have acclaimed our guest, especially in respect of French music. A close friend of Debussy and Ravel, a student of the classics, Mr. Schmitz is professionally noted for his ability in the playing of Bach and Chopin.

Chatting about Mr. Schmitz with my friend, Reginald Godden, a few days ago, Mr. Godden said: "Schmitz is completely a part of life today. A great exponent of contemporary music, one who could easily have been a scientist as well as a musician."

Much as we would like it, Mr. Schmitz is not here to play for us. Instead, he comes to consider with us: "The Sacrifice, The Fall, and The Resurgence of Fighting France."

Our guest fought for France in World War I, and was cited for bravery. He still fights for France, using his great knowledge and understanding of his country to inform us, who perhaps are not even yet aware of all that France has done, and is doing, for the common cause.

Today we see our guest as a patriot of France, and, knowing the soul of France as he does, speaks to us of "The Sacrifice, The Fall, and The Resurgence of Fighting France."

Ladies and Gentlemen: Mr. E. Robert Schmitz.

MR. SCHMITZ: Mr. Chairman, Ladies, Gentlemen, Friends: It is a great privilege to be able to address you today; I feel greatly honoured that you should have asked me to talk about my country, France, and its contributions, past and present, to the United Nations' cause, the cause of Democracy, the cause of Freedom! and Decency! For the sake of clarity I must recall to our minds many facts which we all know; today the full significance of these facts must be present before our eyes in an active way since their relation to the decisions of tomorrow is real and the world will not look with kindness upon those who still could cause unjust and careless distortions of the truth upon which tomorrow must be built! We are all hoping for a better world, just as many of us hoped for that after World War I; many of us are willing to work, sacrifice, suffer, in order to help construct such a better world but in order to make our efforts fruitful we must acquire knowledge of many true facts liberated from the stain of petty politics, private grudges or selfish interest; we must reach for the true facts and without fear nor egotism. We must learn again to accept and fulfill our moral and material obligations towards our fellows! Public opinion often asks questions related to France but the answers seem to get lost "on the way" as they encounter the hurdles of petty politics, private grudges or selfish private interest of individuals, as well as of "pressure groups". I shall proceed by enumerating some of these questions and offering you facts which are answers by their own nature.

The first question, which has found entirely too many assenters, is "Did French Democracy fail to work and its bad Government of the Third Republic cause the Fall of France in 1940?" Of course no normally intelligent citizen of any of the Allied countries should ask this question since the least amount of logic or an elementary sense of strategy puts significance upon the fact that all the countries (not France alone) which were in the first line of defense fell (this includes Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Holland, Belgium together with France); amongst these countries of the first line of defense only three were real democracies, but the others fell also so there is no basis to credit the Fall of France to Democracy in particular. Why did these countries fall? First, because of their geographical position in relation to the aggressor; secondly, because of the international mixed policy of appeasement and isolationism which through nearly a whole decade of years was used to extreme advantage by the German propagandists and made all pre-pration for the defense of the Allied Democracies impossible since it would be decried at once as "war mongering" by various "pressure groups" within the Democracies; yet it was accepted by us sometimes because of blind idealism and some other times because of sheer egotism; altogether because of a certain amount of reactionary stupidity in certain circles of influence.

France was affected by that international policy like the other Democracies—in 1939, we had lack of unity in our aims, just as all our future Allies; political feuds were going strong everywhere, and were tended expertly by the Nazi propaganda machine; the fear of Communism became one of the most efficient weapons of that German propoganda, since it appeared one of the easiest ways to "divide" people; in France that "well promoted" fear of communism caused even the nationalists to turn to pacifism around 1934 (of course this was helped by the remembrance of the slaughter of a million and 500,000 Frenchmen in the war of 1914-18, which the propaganda machine also incited the French people to compare to the 100,000 Americans killed during the same war). One thing which may not be credited to the international policy is the comparative scarcity of real leaders in French politics during the last 15 years or so; we did not seem to have such political figures as Waldeck-Rousseau (1898-1900), or such an energetic "tiger" as Clémenceau (1917), nor such a great economist and patriot as Poincaré (1926); but let us remember that most of the young Frenchmen who might have become the potential great leaders of the France of 1940 were youngsters courageous enough in 1914-18 to be part of the million and half French killed! Now we must consider what part a certain percentage of the international press, not excluding French press, played in this international world policy; let us remember that some French newspapers had even become financed by Mussolini, but let us remember also that in North America one of the leading Midwest newspapers carried a systematic campaign in the 1920's to instill in the minds of all people that France was the only obstacle to world recovery and permanent peace; this was not the decay of the French press, but the embryonic pressure of a propaganda system destined to weaken the first line of defense of the Allies. i.e., France.

It does not really matter whether it was stupidity or ill intent—the fact is that this false representation of the attitude of France has proved itself one of the most wicked and treacherous weapons of the pro-German preparedness toward aggression by shaming the country that had clearsightedness enough to expect the present attack and forcing her into the crazy hope of peace against all evidence. France's evacuation of the Ruhr under the amicable but insistent pressure of her greatest friends was the crowning development of that propaganda initiated outside France, in the press.

Salient facts of the international policy which weakened France and built the power of Germany do not always show ill intent, but most of the time indicate a candid irresponsibility; these include:

The generosity of spirit and pocketbook toward Germany motivated by the hope of buying peace, but with the result of constructing an evil power. It made the next step, the policy of appeasement carried by France, England, the United States, almost imperative and afforded Germany the time to complete its war machine. Appeasement and isolationism were so strongly promoted that in the U.S.A. even at the time of the 1940 election many of the political leaders were still blind enough to claim that the U.S.A. had thus been kept successfully out of the war, and this in spite of the accomplished facts of the Fall of France and the narrow margin of chance left for the British to stave off the attack across the Channel through their magnificent defense! God forbid that such politicians be allowed to revive the "humanitarian idea" that first help must go to Germany when peace comes! Let us go back in history and remember! In 1918 after four years of havoc, destruction, killings, Germany surrendered. The Treaty of Versailles was signed. The U.S.A. refused to join England in a treaty to protect France, and declined to join the League of Nations. A great propaganda era started to make people forget the war guilt of Germany, and soon to depict Germany as the victim! We heard of the poor undernourished German children; these undernourished young Germans who now have become of age and are the bandits of the Aryan creed, demented disciples of gangster Hitler; these were fed and made strong by the kindness of the former victims of the German Reich; this propaganda became so strong that it left but little place in the world consciousness for those other children, orphans of France, Belgium, who had had their houses blasted and burned over their heads! Then was created further the belief that the Treaty of Versailles was unjust; the Dawes and Young plans followed; the help to Germany augmented; these were sincerely intended for rehabilitation, but this economic rehabilitation was slyly transformed into all that was necessary for total war by Germany. At the time of the Lausanne Conference of 1931, American investors under the Dawes plan and the Young plan had loaned Germany more than the amount she was paying in reparations. The total cash borrowed by Germany while she was paying reparations was six times as much as the total cash reparations payments ever made by Germany! The Versailles Treaty called for 33 billions dollars reparations; Germany did not quite pay four billion dollars in all; the total money Germany paid in reparations was not quite 60% of what she forced France to pay in a very short time in 1870. This is one of the reasons why, in 1932, Germany stood at the head of the world's exporting countries, yet Hitler continued to claim economic and social distress, using this as a pretext to continue his preparatoins. However, we still refused to believe, hear or see!

But let us return to France. Did the France of 1939-40 possess the same quality of courage and sense of honour that won the world's admiration in 1914-18? Because France fell, uninformed people are prone to accuse her her of having lost that courage of 1914-18; but then let us compare World War I and World War II in their early stages. Let us remember that in 1914, but five weeks after the invasion of France by the Germans, these were at the doors of Paris; France had Russia and Italy as allies; it is quite possible that if France had had to transfer two armies to a second front against Italy in spite of the heroic fighting qualities of her armies the "miracle of the Marne" might not have taken place; this is not to diminish the glory attached to the French poilus of 1914-18, I am much too proud to have been one of them to intend this in a derogatory way, but we are speaking of facts and statistics! The "miracle of the Marne", "Verdun" and many other great battles took place successfully, but we did not have a second front then. This time, in 1939, the balance of forces was different—we had a second enemy poised on a second front! On September 1, 1939, France fulfilling its pledge of honour towards Poland declared war on Germany; we may well say that France was alone in the first line of defense, except for the help of the British Expeditionary Force of 12 divisions (180,000) which was to become available by the ninth month of the war (one month before the Fall of Paris). France, a nation of 42 millions, was alone against the Axis coalition of 120 millions which for many years had mobilized all its energies to prepare this crushing onslaught; the U.S.A. at that time had an army of 260,000 but not available; the British Expeditionary Force became fully available in May, 1940; the U.S.A. was just repealing the neutrality law, but had no weapons to send us as yet. France was not any more ready than any of the other Allies, but she made the sacrifice that the front line soldier makes; it is most certain that any of the present Allies would have fared no better regardless of courage and sense of honour! As Anthony Eden said so justly, "If it were not for geographic conditions England might have fallen like France." I may add to this that some of my friends of the British Army have even told me "If we British had been on the soil of France and you French on the British Isles, Britain would have fallen and France would have defended the British Isles."

Let us remember it, France of 1939-40 was just as courageous as France of 1914-18, but the task was harder; we must remember that in 1939 she sacrificed herself at a heavy price to buy that vitally needed few months that might enable her allies to start getting ready. 150,000 soldiers were killed, 100,000 civilians were killed, making a total of 250,000 killed which is higher than the combined losses of the British Empire and the U.S.A. since the beginning of the war and up to August 15, 1943. One million and 800,000 prisoners were taken to Germany (this would be as if the U.S.A. had seven million of her men in the Nazi prison camps). Then, is there any civilized individual of the second line of defense who will deny recognition to the soldier or to the nation who falls on the first line of defense!

Let us now consider what has happened in France and in the French Empire since the Armistice of June, 1940. I will quote now from the book *Resistance* by the distinguished Frenchman André Morize: "Today all the nations subjugated by Hitlerism are nothing but vast prisons where executioners torture bodies and seek to asphyxiate souls. But today on the walls of all these jails, millions of hands, in letters of light or of blood, fling to the conqueror and to the world the same challenge 'We Resist'. After the Fall of France in 1940 the people stunned by the defeat were filled with despair and discouragement; some, however, almost everywhere from the first day, with all their clear-sightedness and all their love, refused to accept defeat." Secretly they organized and became the nuclei of living cells of resistance, resistance to the invader, resistance to those who called themselves the Government of France at Vichy; these cells developed rapidly, at first isolated from each other, then gradually a sporadic process connected them to each other; the moving ideal which made and makes the resistance movement so great is that ideal which is embodied in the Declaration des droits de l'homme (Declaration of the Rights of Man). It is also a sense of honour which refuses to accept compromises, slavery, cowardly acts revolting to the conscience of French people who are descendants of those who fought for Freedom in 1789, of those who fought for Freedom in 1914-18 and in so many other occasions.

Here I would like to quote again but this time it will be from one of the greatest French patriots, M. André Philip, who at present is on the French Committee of National Liberation in Algiers as Director of Underground Metropolitan France; the quotation will be from his broadcast which originated from London on August 13, 1942, that is immediately after he had escaped Occupied France in order to establish the connection between the French Underground and General Charles de Gaulle. As he expressed it, "We have resisted because we wanted to remain faithful to the fundamental values of our civilization. We believed that liberty and independence are higher realities, and that nothing in the world is higher than respect for human dignity and the responsibility of the individual. We thought it was preferable to die rather than relinquish all that. We thought that ten tons of material force cannot prevail over an ounce of truth, and that the possession of five thousand tanks is not sufficient to change a lie into a truth."

In June, 1940, Marshal Pétain negotiated and signed the armistice and within three weeks the Vichy puppet Government found its devious way to establish an obviously fascist dictatorship, and started erasing the very name of Republic from public buildings, monuments, and documents; this was done in spite of the fact that the French Constitution denies the National Assembly power to pass constitutional amendments affecting "the republican form of government"; this was usurpation of power and destruction of the liberties won by the French Revolution, fully contrary to the vast majority of public opinion in every way. However, General Charles de Gaulle, then Under-Secretary of State for National Defense in the Reynaud Cabinet, did not submit to the capitulation and, on June 16, 1940, flew to England from where he made his stirring appeal to all Frenchmen who could join him to continue the fight.

To All Frenchmen

> France has lost a battle!
>
> But France has not lost the war!
>
> A makeshift Government may have capitulated, giving way to panic, forgetting honour, delivering their country into slavery. Yet nothing is lost!
>
> Nothing is lost, because this war is a world war.
>
> In the free universe immense forces have not yet been brought into play. Some day these forces will crush the enemy. On that day France must be present at the Victory. She will then regain her liberty and her greatness.

That is my goal, my only goal!

That is why I ask all Frenchmen, wherever they may be, to unite with me in action, in sacrifice and in hope. Our country is in danger of death. Let us fight and save it.

LONG LIVE FRANCE!

General de Gaulle.

Important sections of the French Empire rallied to his standard, the Lorraine Cross, and steadily the Free French fighting forces were regrouped. The recognition granted him almost at once, by the Crown, through Churchill, can never be too highly praised. I would like to read you the last phrase in the letter addressed to General de Gaulle on August 7, 1940, by Winston Churchill: "I would take this opportunity of stating that it is the determination of His Majesty's Government, when victory has been gained by the Allied arms, to secure the full restoration of the independence and greatness of France."

The need for a co-ordinating leadership in the struggle for resistance and for liberation of France as well as for a representation of her general interests among the fighting democracies induced the three main underground organizations of France "Liberation", "Combat", and "Franc-Tireur" to form a Committee, just as three political parties might join in electing representatives of the people to Congress or to the House. This Committee of the people in whose hands resistance was centralized then sent representatives to London. Their conversations with General de Gaulle wound up in an agreement which was published simultaneously in London and in the French underground papers in June, 1942. By May, 1943, complete organization of all French resistance groups was an accomplished fact; a committee of the Movements of French Resistance was set up and includes representatives of the following underground groups; Combat, Liberation, Franc Tireur, Resistance; and the Military Committee of Guerillas and Partisans. This general Committee of the Movements of French Resistance also includes delegates of the Confederation generale du Travail (Labour Union), Confederation Francaise travailleurs chrétiens (Christian Federation of Labour), and representatives of all political parties from Left to Right: Communist, Socialist, Radical Socialist, Popular Democratic, Democratic Alliance, Republican Federation. This Committee sent the following message to General de Gaulle on May 14, 1943:

> "All movements and groups in both north and south zones wish to assure the French National Committee and General de Gaulle, on the eve of his departure for Algeria, that they stand solidly for the principles they embody, from which they could not depart ever so slightly without strong protest from the French people."

I will now read again this message to you but this time I shall endeavour to replace the English word "they" which is used here with a full realization of its confusing character by the names of Underground and Committee of Liberation where they belong. "All Movements and Groups (of the Underground) assure the F.N.C. and General de Gaulle on the eve of his departure for Algeria that they (the Underground) stand solidly for the principles they (meaning the Committee of Liberation) embody, from which they (meaning again the Committee of Liberation) could not depart ever so slightly without strong protest from the French people."

Thus the actual authority of the Committee of National Liberation in Algiers in representing and leading underground resistance in France is that of powers and obligations vested upon the De Gaulle Committee by the people of France, through a painstaking democratic process of vote realized in spite of the daily tragedies visited upon France by the Nazis and the Vichy so-called Government. On the other hand, while such men as Laval may be considered as plain traitors, it is necessary to realize that France even after nearly four years of the nightmare of so-called collaboration has only few such brigands.

France is not divided but rather deeply unified and the strength of such unity is shown by the maintenance of the most cherished prerogative of the French Republic and of other Democracies, that of having the people designate the leaders of their small groups of resistance, then having the leaders of these groups elect central committees, then having these groups elect central committees, then having these appoint emissaries to the French forces outside of France and ultimately designating the French Committee of National Liberation headed by General de Gaulle as its present governing body; here we have no usurpation of power, but merely courageous patriots outside and within France uniting to elect their Chief and organizing for efficient contribution to the cause of the United Nations.

Another aspect of this underground movement which we must fully realize for its courage, its self-sacrifice, the constant deadly danger that it affords to its promoters is the underground press. Of course France is not unique in this line; Norway publishes 12 such newspapers, Poland some eighty, Belgium 65, some in the Czechoslovakia, and some in Greece. In France their number surpasses sixty; these periodicals circulate the news confiscated by the censors and afford the oppressed people on their rare means of knowing what hopes are in store beyond the boundaries of their oppressed country; discovery of who prints, distributes or even reads such periodicals generally means death at the hands of the "butchers" of the oppressor; yet some of these underground periodicals publish as many as 75 thousand copies which are circulated from hand to hand! If you consider the number of such periodicals and their respective number of copies, you become awed by the magniture of this resistance movement which defies ceaselessly its attackers. Besides spreading the real news unadulterated by the Nazi censors, these publications also spread the instructions necessary to the co-ordination of the efforts of the underground and their friends from without. Some of these are published by French Universitarians, others by Socialist groups, every political group is part of it and co-ordinates, except, naturally, Vichy!

To quote again from the book by Morize: "These newspaper publish documents or texts which the Vichy government seeks to conceal, official correspondence between Vichy, Paris, Berlin, Wiesbaden. . . . and to the exasperation of the Laval Police and the Gestapo it is evident that many of these documents are furnished by Government officials who have remained faithful to France."

I wish the time would permit to describe to you in detail the contribution of the Free French to the war effort of the United Nations; it started almost at once with the control of the strategic territories which have been of immense value to us all in Africa and New Caledonia; it includes more contributions in lives and blood gloriously lost in battle in Lybia as early as December, 1940, in Ethiopia, in Southern Lybia at the time of the amazing march of the column of General Leclerc from Lake Tchad, in Lebanon, at Bir Hacheim under General Koenig, at the Mareth Line, in Tunisia, and now in Italy; to appraise rightly these deeds we should read the declarations made by such Generals as Wavell, Montgomery, and others.

Fighting France had 90 thousand front line troops and through the battles I just mentioned, suffered 17 thousand casualties and took 20 thousand German prisoners; it is impossible to know how many Germany fighters they obliterated from their hordes! At present the initial force of 90 thousand, including one thousand pilots, is being enlarged by the completion of a French army of 400,000; if one added to this the potential power of the vast underground in France, one is then looking at the French Nation altogether, except for a few senile and treacherous politicians in Vichy and perhaps a few egotistic and unscrupulous money-grabbers of the "business as usual type", who are more or less hiding away from the battle, wherever a callous tolerance accepts them.

In spite of the tragedy of Toulon, when the French Navy scuttled itself, the Fighting French navy today numbers close to 100 warships, including the 35,000 ton battleship Richelieu, an aircraft carrier, 7 fast modern cruisers, destroyers, submarines, etc. French merchant ships totalling well over one million tons have rallied to the United Nations war effort. Judging from this France is one of the five most important United Nations at present when considering each nation's contribution to the war effort. France does not act under the leadership of a Government-in-Exile; the French Committee of Liberation and General De Gaulle have assumed the functions of temporary trustees of France; it is in no way their intent to usurp power and the best proof that can be offered is the democratic character of the French underground and its selection of the De Gaulle Committee for leadership, in return for which the Consultative Assembly in Algiers invited numerous French underground leaders recently to contribute to the decisions; these underground delegates are at once the judges and censors of the activities of the French Committee of Liberation, but it is the Committee's invitation which brought them to Algiers; their welcomed presence is a testimony to the trust placed by the French nation in the French Committee of Liberation; sending the invitation to these people is the most eloquent proof of the absolute integrity of the French Committee headed by General de Gaulle. Truly France has designated her leaders; these leaders under the inspiring chairmanship of General de Gaulle have also accomplished an amazing piece of work to preserve the machinery of the true French constitutional Government intact, so that on the day of the liberation such be ready to function at the hands of the people of France.

The mutual trust of underground Metropolitan France and the Committee of Liberation is very strong and these forces are integrated already; it may be said that the people of France await three things with equal fervor:

(1) The practical and rapid realization of the promise of arms and ammunitions in substantial quantities for the underground; (2) Invasion and fighting at the side of the United Nations troops; (3) Re-establishment of French Democracy without delays, restoring the French Republic with the help of those who never "let her down".

As France's territory will become liberated by armies which will include French troops, French people will welcome the help of the great Democracies, but will expect to contribute to this liberation; furthermore they will welcome the help of those who never accepted the armistice, they will welcome their bringing back to France the practical processes of the Republic, they will welcome the French Committee's help to re-organize the government in France.

We may say that there may be quite a few Frenchmen who may be suspicious of Allied political intentions as a result of the North African experience; and while most French people have by now understood some of the reasons for certain things, they nevertheless will not accept the maintenance of Vicheyites in positions in which they could again hurt France; even though it may be recognized that a Vichyite may not look the same to an American as he does to a French underground patriot, the French feel that they are best judges as to who has been a traitor in France, because they have informed themselves at length during these four years of tragedy! The French have a deep sense of honour and are jealous of their rights as a nation. It is this that has made them revere General de Gaulle and accept him as the symbol of their hopes and aspirations; his stubborn courage and foresight have meant much to them. I understand that both London and Washington are recognizing more and more that the Committee of Liberation is and will be the expert organism through which governmental reorganization of France can be best accomplished; this decision of the Allies will help tremendously the morale of France as will an unmitigated recognition of her courage and sacrifices; these things are necessary to the world of peace.

The world wants France re-instated, because the world has its own sense of honour, even though at times it becomes clouded by extraneous elements; but the world wants France also because France is useful to the world and the United Nations know that nine months to start getting ready to defend themselves were bought as the first line of defense by just a few countries amongst which France's sacrifice cannot be measured by any word I can find in the dictionary.

"WHAT IS TO BECOME OF THE BRITISH PROTECTORATES?"

An Address By

L.A.C. DAVID YALDEN-THOMSON.

Chairman: The President, Mr. W. Eason Humphreys.

Thursday, March 9, 1944

Mr. Humphreys: The legendary Captain Kidd is supposed to have buried his treasure on a tiny island off the west coast of Pemba Island. Pemba Island is a short distance off the Tanganyikan (Tan-gan-yee-kan) coast of Africa, and formerly the scene of the world's greatest slave markets.

That is a thumbnail sketch of the romantic side of the otherwise serious business of governing that British Protectorate.

As citizens of this British Empire, we are obviously concerned with "What is to Become of British Protectorates."

The youthful, one-time District Commissioner (or Governor) of Pemba Island is here today to discuss the matter with us. He is L.A.C. David C. Yalden-Thomson.

David Yalden-Thomson first met Pemba Island in 1940. He was then 21 years of age. Graduating from Oxford University, he joined the Fleet Air Arm of the Royal Navy, but very soon, the British Colonial Service withdrew him to place him in complete administrative charge of Pemba Island, because of his aptitude for Swahili and Arabic languages, and, above all, perhaps, his ability to deal with people.

Last year, Yalden-Thomson was permitted to resign his post, because he wanted to sail half-way around the world for Canada, in order to join the R.C.A.F. to train as a pilot. A natural ambition, since he was granted a glider pilot's certificate as long ago as 1936.

We are indebted to the Commanding Officer of No. 6 Training Centre (Wing Commander G. A. Hodgetts) for granting L.A.C. Yalden-Thomson leave to be here today.

I find much satisfaction on behalf of The Empire Club of Canada in being host to a guest so young. It is really refreshing.

Let me say also that we are indebted to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation for introducing us to our guest.

Like many others, we heard and appreciated Yalden-Thomson in the well-known broadcast series "Peoples on the March".

Yalden-Thomson's people are people on the march. His father a distinguished soldier. An uncle an Admiral. Another uncle a general. Gentlemen: Leading Aircraftsman David C. Yalden-Thomson. "What is to Become of British Protectorates?"

MR. YALDEN-THOMSON: Mr. President and Gentlemen: I feel deeply honoured by this invitation to speak to your Club today. When you, Mr. President, told me the names of the some the distinguished persons and statesmen who have spoken to this Club in recent weeks I felt not only honoured but also most embarrassed. In the past my public speaking has been limited to African and Arab audiences under very different circumstances. I hope therefore that you will be lenient and make allowances for the absence of any oratorical skill.

In Africa, the usual circumstances for a public speech consisted of a clearing in the middle of a huddle of mud huts. When one arrived at the village after a long and probably dusty march, a rickety chair would be produced. You sit on it and wait until a small boy had swarmed up a coconut tree and brought down half a dozen nuts. While you drink the coconut milk the elders of the village assemble—toothless, senile and wizen—and they sit on the ground at a respectful distance. Next a few chickens and babies join the group, wandering here and there; scratching in the dust. The elders come out of mere politeness. Those that can hear are not interested in what you have to say unless you are at least as old as they are. So you repeat what you have to say in as many ways as you can and say good-bye. For this part of Africa, that I am describing, is a Mohammedan country. Its inhabitants venerate few things so much as age. So that administrative cadets, particularly those with hairless faces, are regarded (I think) as rather a joke.

Speech-making in the colonies is not always as easy as that. One friend of mine was appointed as District Commissioner to an area inhabited largely by nomadic Somali tribesmen. During his first "baraza"—any meeting in Africa is a baraza—a messenger came dashing into the circle to tell him that a government headman had been murdered many miles away on the Abyssinian frontier. Now the murder of a native government headman is a serious matter in those parts. If one such murderer goes unpunished, an impression may form that government officials can be murdered with impunity. So the new D.C. decided to act at once. He organized a camel caravan with 20 native police—camel are the only means of transport in those parts—and set out as soon as he could. Now a camel caravan is no easy thing to arrange. The camels and camel drivers must be collected; the loads calculated and weighed and the packs adjusted. Each time you try to start, something goes wrong—a camel goes lame or a water container starts leaking. Well, my friend by tremendous efforts managed to get under way in about three days. Having heard of the wiles of the Somalis, he took the messenger with him.

The caravan took 14 days to reach the small settlement on the border where the murder had taken place. The D.C. started his enquiries. "Was it true that an official of the government name Juma bin Mohammed had been murdered?" "Yes," they replied, "it was true. He had been murdered right here, in the village." "Who had murdered him," the D.C. asked. "Why his cousin, Ismail bin Yusif." "And where is he," said the D.C. "Oh," they replied, "he died. You see the worthy official Juma bin Mohammed was murdered five years ago." Such are the difficulties that have arisen in the past to Englishmen who make speeches in Africa. It is unnecessary to add that when the D.C. looked for the messenger, he had vanished.

Before I start talking to you about British Protectorates, there is one more thing I must say. I feel that I am here under false pretences. I see in the biographical note, which may have attracted some of you to this meeting, that I am described as having been District Commissioner of one of His Majesty's Protectorates. It is true that at the most youthful age on record I occupied the lowest possible position in the colonial administrative service. It is true that I was once, for a very short period, D.C. of one District in a British Protectorate. But that was due to the temporary illness of the Administrative Officer there, whose assistant I was, and the fact that, owing to a wartime shortage of staff, there was no one immediately available to replace him—except myself. As you will see from my uniform, I no longer have any connection with the Colonial Service.

When in 1940 the Colonial Office availed itself of my services as a Cadet in the C.A.S., it was suggested that I proceed to Hong Kong. I am profoundly thankful that I declined to go. Since I had expressed a desire to serve in an Arabic-speaking country—and no vacancies were available in the Middle East at that time—I was sent to the Protectorate of Zanzibar.

All I knew about Zanzibar was that it issued postage stamps with a picture of a Sultan on some of them and of native sailing boats on others. Shortly after my arrival I was moved to a still remoter area called Pemba Island. Zanzibar Protectorate consists of two islands: the main island of Zanzibar—which has a capital town of the same name—and the sister island of Pemba, or "Green Island" as the Arabs call it. Since I spent a large part of the last three years in Pemba, it is principally of Pemba that I shall speak. For one thing, it is a fair sample of the numerous and little known Protectorates which are part of the British Empire.

This island of Pemba is situated about 80 miles north of Zanzibar, off the east coast of Africa. It is two or three degrees south of the equator. The island is about 60 miles long and twenty across at its widest extent. The coastline is heavily indented by bays that almost cut it into pieces. The highest point on the island is only three hundred feet above sea-level, with the result that it is appallingly hot and damp. I have flown over Pemba and approached it by sea. I don't know from which angle its appearance is more depressing.

Seen from above it is quite flat, dull green in colour and surrounded by shark-infested waters. Seen from the seaward it is quite flat, dull green in colour and you can see the sharks in the water. There is no other land in sight. But as you approach it, its charms begin to emerge. For one thing it isn't quite flat. There are genuine cliffs in places, and later as you get within half a mile of the shore it suddenly seems beautiful. The beaches are long white ribbons: the island is surrounded by coral reefs and little islets, each bearing two or three coconut palms. The colors of the sea defy description. The dull green of the land sorts itself out into shades. There are mangrove swamps, palms, clove trees and forest. You forget the sharks and you may even forget the heat for a moment.

The island has an interesting history. We know that long ago the Chinese visited it, for Chinese pottery has been found and to this day some of the native fishermen wear straw hats that closely resemble those which Chinese sailors in sampans use.

But the Arabs are the first visitors who really count today. Several centuries ago the Arabs started to come down the coast of East Africa. For the most part they came from what is today Trucial Oman (Trucial Oman is the north-easterly corner of the Arabian peninsula). Today the ruler of Muscat, the capital town, is a cousin of the Sultan of Zanzibar. These Arab empire builders spread along the coast of Africa, down to Portuguese East and even into what is now the Union of South Africa. They extended their sphere of influence beyond the great lakes of Central Africa into the Belgian Congo. It was an enormous empire. Zanzibar and Pemba were conquered also, and Zanzibar became the principal capital of the Empire—a stronghold for a long succession of Arab rulers. And this for the obvious reasons that it was an island and therefore not liable to surprise attack and because it had a good natural harbour.

Wherever you go along the coast of East Africa today you will encounter traces of this Arab conquest. In all the towns, Mombassa, Kilwa, Dares-Salaam and Larna there are Arab houses, Arab people and Arab traditions. On my way to Canada I passed through the Belgian Congo, and who should be strolling down one of the streets of Albertsville but a couple of recent immigrants from Oman —complete with turbans and daggers.

This Empire was based on trade in two commodities —ivory and slaves. You have all heard of the horrors of this trade, conducted perhaps in an even more barbarous manner than the trade between the West Coast of Africa and this continent. The slaves were captured by armed bands of Arabs and marched in chains down to the coast. Those who survived this journey were shipped to Zanzibar and sold in the famous slave market there. Thence they were transhipped by dhow to Arabia.

This Arab Empire was first seriously challenged by the Portuguese. In the seventeenth century they conquered Zanzibar, Pemba and Muscat itself. Their rule did not last for many years, before the hardier Arabs overwhelmed them. The Portuguese also left their mark. In each town they built large and strong forts for their garrisons. Unfortunately these are being treated with a lack of respect which amounts to vandalism by the various colonial governments—for they are splendid historical monuments. When I left, for example, the fort on Pemba had been knocked about in order to house native police and the fort in Zanzibar was being pulled down to widen a road! The natives of Pemba seem to have learnt two things from their first white masters—how to whistle and how to enjoy a bullfight!

Their ideas of bullfighting are not those of the Spaniards today, and surprised me when I saw them. A big but insecure stockade is built of branches and bamboo poles. At one end, the veiled women stand in clusters and make shrill screams. At the other, the male spectators sit or loll. An hour or two after the appointed time for the performance, a tremendous row is set up off-stage: horses, cattle and human yells. This is intended by the natives to excite the bulls. Finally a pathetic bull calf is chivied into the clearing. It is usually so small that a strong man could pick it up. Then you notice that attached to one hind leg is twenty feet or so of stout rope. There are half a dozen men at the end of the rope just in case the bull should get out of hand. The young calf stands there, occasionally kicking its heels in the air in a disconsolate manner, while a handful of natives torment it by flicking its nose with bits of sacking.

This preliminary "fight" end with the dismissal of the calf, whose performance is a piece of showmanship to make the full grown bull seem more impressive. Soon a genuine bull is led in. At no stage is he killed or even wounded, for cattle are valuable. Its horns are cut short. The beast also has the rope tied to a hind leg, so that it shan't serious damage a native either. Occasionally though the bull gets in a good thump on some natives to the delight of the crowd. It ends with the bull reduced to a stand-still by the heat and the rope.

I have on two occasions seen a bull get out of hand. Once we arranged a special bullfight on the lawn outside the District office to celebrate Empire Day. A really fine bull was promised and the promise was kept. It jumped the stockade, causing pandemonium. Women, children and men fled screaming in all directions: some jumped into the ivy, some climbed coconut trees. In the end the bull's rope wound up round the flagstaff outside the office and the populace was safe.

The other time a bullfight was arranged in my honour during a visit to the village of Pujini. The show was so late in starting that the principal bull grew fiercer and fiercer as he grew cooler and cooler with the approach of night. Finally he turned on the crowd at the end of the rope and they ran helter skelter for safety. The bull reigned supreme. I tried to bribe onlookers to show their courage and go in and bait the bull with their bits of sacking. One or two essayed it, but each was well and truly banged. Finally I offered two dollars (perhaps a week's earnings) to a boastful young labourer near me. "Master," he said, "do you think my soul is worth less than two dollars?"

Such are the traces of Portuguese conquest!

After the Portuguese were mastered by the Arabs, the latter ruled until the scramble for Africa began in the nineteenth century. The Belgians, the English, the Germans and the French all seized territory by treaty or war. By the end of the century the great Arab Empire was reduced to the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. Eventually they became German possessions. But later the British Government exchanged Heligoland for Zanzibar and Pemba, and to this day it remains a British Protectorate.

I would like to tell you something about the inhabitants of these islands. It is much what one would expect from the history I have given you. Zanzibar has a population of approximately 150,000: Pemba of about 100,000. I say approximately because no statistics about Africans, where they exist, are ever correct. There are reasons for this. For instance, in the Tanganyika Territory natives had at one time to pay a hut tax and still pay a poll tax. Hence when a census is held, the natives fear that the counting may be a prelude to the introduction of a new tax, so, if they can, some will try to avoid having their names appear on any list.

The bulk of the population, perhaps three-quarters of it is African. In Pemba they claim to be Shirazis by race. Shiraz is the southern province of Persia and it is possible that the natives are partly Shirazian (or Persian) in origin. Ki-Swahili, their language, is a mixture of Bantu and Arabic. Several ruins on Pemba, of which there are many, have been classified by amateur archaeologists as Shirazian. (Incidentally these ruins should prove a wonderfield for any archaeologist; they have never been expertly excavated or examined.) Finally, they are fairer in colour than the average run of African from continental Africa. In general though they must be very mixed by blood with Arabs and mainland African tribes. In addition there are some 20,000 Arabs and 15,000 Indians.

The Arabs are divided into two groups. The descendants of earlier Arab settlers, and the newcomer from Arabia. The progeny of earlier settlers are often distinguishable from the Africans in appearance. Under Mohammedan law, an illegitimate son has the rights of a full son. Morever many of the Arabs married African wives. As a result, the older Arab families are more negroid than Arab.

T. E. Lawrence pointed out that Arabs who once leave the ascetic conditions of the desert degenerate rapidly. They are very prone to self-indulgence. This is certainly true of the Arab families we had in Pemba and Zanzibar. You could tell, almost at a glance, whether an Arab was born in Arabia or in East Africa by a difference in bearing and manner. In general Arabs outside Arabia go to pieces quickly: they become effete and degenerate. To the administration they are more of a handicap than a help; demanding privileges as of right of descent but without the ability to play a leading role in their communities.

The Arabian born Arabs are altogether different. They are the potentially troublesome group in the Protectorate. For they are hot-tempered and arrogant: they can be deceitful and dishonest. But one cannot help admiring their great courage, their pride in themselves, their physique and, above all, their hospitality. The Mohammedan religion lays greater emphasis on charity than any other religion. This is one reason why they are so prodigal, and fall so easily into the hands of Hindu money-lenders from Bombay—of whom I shall speak later. The connection between Zanzibar Protectorate and the deserts of Arabia is very close. Our Sultan, Seygid Khalifa bin Kharub el-Busaidi, wise, benign ruler, is an Arab, born and brought up in Oman. Each year, with the coming of the north-west monsoon, dhows set sail in the ports of the Persian Gulf. From Kuwait, Basra, Bahrein, Liugi, Muscat the Hadiament they travel enormous distances to the south without the aid of navigational instruments. Their cargoes consist of dried shark, carpets, dates, daggers and would-be immigrants into Zanzibar.

Let me give you an instance of their extreme hardihood. In these dhows they carry inadequate water supplies for the journey. As they drink, they refill the fresh water tanks with salt-water. At the end of a trip they are drinking almost pure salt-water. I did not believe this story which an Arab dhow captain told me until I boarded one of their wooden vessels and tasted the water supply for myself.

Each year they come in scores, and their arrival is one of the great events of the year. As the dhows anchored in the harbour below my house, I used to send a messenger down to invite the crews to my house, where I kept one room furnished in Arab fashion, bare except for carpets. There we would squat in circles and they would disclose such news of the Persian Gulf as they thought fit. I learnt for instance that they looked on the British occupation of southern Persia with relief, because navigational facilities were increased and (more important) they could now wear traditional dress once more. They are a very picturesque and to my mind a very fine people. It is difficult for we "civilized" people to grasp their contempt for fear.

Once I walked into a small native village. A little

Arab boy, who could just walk, caught sight of my white skin, and never having seen a white man before, tottered off as fast as he could, crying, towards his father's house. His father appeared—a gaunt Oman Arab—and he walked behind his son hitting him with his camel-stick. I asked him why he beat his son. He turned round, with a look of amazement in his face and said, "Anaogopa"—"He is frightened." That was sufficient reason!

These Arabs are the landowners, the capitalists of the Protectorate. The main product of the island is cloves and in the old days the clove plantations were worked with African slave labour. Today there are several thousand Africans in the Protectorate who voluntarily remain in conditions of slavery. They are the older people. But their Arab masters on the whole are kind to them: they feed, clothe, house and protect them until they die. So they prefer this secure existance to branching out on their own and, when they are too old for work, having to depend on charity and their belief that Allah will provide.

For, like all Mohammedans, their belief in Allah is deep-seated. They see his hand in everyday events which we would hardly associate with the Almighty. If you set out on a journey, you mutter "bismillah" as you start —"in the name of Allah." When you finish a meal, it is with the words "Elhaindullilah"—or "praise be to Allah." If an Arab tells you that he is going for a walk he will add "Inshallah"—"if Allah is willing."

Only a few decades ago the Indians from Bombay Presidency began to penetrate East Africa. In the first instance, many entered as coolies to build the railroads in Kenya and South Africa. Today they abound, and present a difficult problem in East Africa. The Indians are much shrewder than the African or the Arab and if things continue as at present, it will not be very long before the bulk of the real estate is in their hands. Neither the African nor the Arab are able to resist the appeal of ready cash. Hence it is only too easy for an unscrupulous trader or money-lender to possess himself of the property of Africans, for, in addition, he is familiar with commercial laws and how to evade them. It seemed paradoxical to me that the indigenous inhabitants should complain of exploitation by the Indian, when I had heard so much in England of British "exploitation" in India! and it may surprise you to learn that Indians are already talking about "their Colonial Policy in Africa". Any attempt to protect the local landowners from the Indians by legislation arouses a furious campaign among the East African Indians and in the Indian Congress Party. Perhaps some of you may have followed the difficulties that arose last year when the South African Government attempted to restrict Indian economic penetration of Natal. This is not the time or place to describe their activities. But, generally speaking, from Uganda to Capetown, Africa in the post-war world will have to face up to this problem. Immigration restriction is unfortunately no longer a solution, since the Indians increase so rapidly. Repatriation is impossible since so many Indians have been born in Africa and are therefore East African subjects. So there seems to be no other possibility than to restrict land-owning by Indians. Though restrictions on a social basis are obnoxious, what alternative is there if Arabs and Africans are to continue to be landowners?

I want to try to complete this description of the people of Pemba by telling you something about the Africans, for they are the great majority of the population. In the first place, they, for the most part, live in abject poverty—hardly above the minimum subsistence level. In Pemba, they have little sense of racial unity with the Africans of the rest of the continent. They have no pride of race. If you take it upon yourself to tick off a Pemba native the invariable reply in "Ndia Bwana, waswahili wote ni wajinga." "Yes, sir, all Swahilis are fools." Perhaps this attitude of mind is the result of their long history of slavery under the Arabs.

Some manage to eke out a living as fishermen, others live off their small and outwardly almost barren plots of agricultural land. How they live in the country is a mystery. How they survive in the sprawling native townships is an even greater mystery. No satisfactory survey of their economic and social life has ever been attempted. We do not know what they eat or how many are unemployed. We have only a very vague idea of their annual cash earnings. It is perhaps a pity that Colonial governments haven't conducted scientific social and economic surveys, because we know so little that we do not know what the real problems are.

One other feature of their lives which I must talk about is health. Pemba and Zanzibar, like most of the coastal belt of Africa, are disease ridden. Malaria, blackwater, elephantiasis, leprosy, tuberculosis, trachoma, venereal diseases are some of which the outward signs are visible every day. I have heard a very senior government official express the view that in general the natives are so debilitated by disease as to be incapable of one day's hard and sustained work. This seems to be literally true, for the hoeing of the clove plantations—the only form of hard and continuous manual labour on the island—is performed almost exclusively by migrant tribes from the higher and healthier areas in central Africa—Wanyamwizi and Wahikuyu.

You probably know that Zanzibar and Pemba provide the world with almost all its supplies of cloves. The uses of cloves are diverse: in Java they are chewed with beetle-leaf; in Canada you sometimes encounter them in apple pie or in the mouths of whiskey drinkers. Aside from cloves the principal export is copra—the dried inner shell of the ubiquitous coconut. The large plantations are still mostly in the hands of Arabs: the smallest are often owned by natives. The wholesale trading is in the hands of the Indians. Unfortunately the islands are not self-supporting and depend on rice from India and Burma. Food difficulties became acute by 1942, when famine conditions arose in parts of India, and parts of Africa for that matter.

But I would like to emphasize the fact that miserable as the life of the Pemba natives may appear to us, to him it can't seem intolerable. They are a most goodnatured, tolerant and humorous people: very peaceful in their ways. On the whole island, with its population of 100,000, we had only 52 African police to keep the peace —a very much lower proportion than we can boast in Canada or England.

Now I have given you as good a description of the island and its people as time permits. Perhaps it would interest you to hear something of the Government machinery by which this Protectorate is run. It is very similar to that of other Protectorates and Colonies. Kenya, Uganda, Tankanyika and Nyasaland, for example, are all run the same way.

All these territories are administered by a Unified Colonial Civil Service. Nominally its members are appointed by His Majesty on the advice of H.M.'s Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies. In fact they are chosen by selection boards at the Colonial Office in London.

The principal branch of the Colonial Service is the Administration. This is composed of British Administrative or Political officers as they are called, who correspond in function to the T.C.S. in India. Generally speaking all the upper hierarchy of the service are drawn from the administration unless the Cabinet chooses to find a niche for some retired general or air marshal.

Each of the East African Colonies and Protectorates has it own legislative assembly. In appearance these are independent legislatives, exercising almost sovereign powers, corresponding to the House of Commons in Ottawa. The members consist for the most part of the senior Colonial officials serving in that territory, headed by the Governor, who presides. These "official" members are nominated by the Governor, after approval has been given by the Colonial Office, and they form majorities in these small assemblies. They (the official members) can introduce measures and vote only as directed by the Chief Secretary, and since none of the bills can numerically be outvoted, the majority is in every sense a government majority, and a vote is seldom taken. The result would appear to be a charade, but the system is not in fact as farcical as would appear at first sight. Most of the Legislative Assemblies contain elected Indian representatives and nominated Arab representatives. In T.T., Kenya and Uganda a few Europeans, settlers or missionaries, are nominated by the Governor to represent African interests. An opportunity is therefore provided in these councils for the expression of Arab and Indian views and awkward questions can be asked.

Next, corresponding to Cabinets, these territories have executive councils, consisting again of Government officials, who deal weekly with matters of importance in the territory. The minority of unofficial but nominated members are Arabs and Indians.

The principal beaucratic machine in each colony is the secretariat. This is a body of officials, mostly Administrative Officers, who deal with all external communications of the Government, e.g., correspondence with the Colonial Office, with other colonies and with the outside world. They also handle budgeting and local policy. Secretariats are traditionally old-fashioned in their methods. In the Secretariat I know best, dictaphones and stenography were barred. Everything was written long-hand and then sent to another office for typing! And of course the civil service method of minuting is used: I once saw no less than 157 minutes written on the subject of how a worn-out set of donkey harness, the property of the Government, should best be disposed of. Of course you must make allowances for the traditional and friendly enmity of District Administration Officers for their colleagues who use pen and ink all day in Secretariats. It is however interesting that the Colonial Office selects its personnel for dealing with the complex problems of finance and budgeting from among administrative officers—men who have no experience in business nor any training in economics. Perhaps this system will be adapted to the times.

To complete this picture of the official machinery, I next mention that there are other departments—public works, health, agriculture, education. Depending upon its revenue, a territory will have one of these officers in each District or one at each Provincial headquarters. Provinces in the Colonies, like Provinces in the Dominions, are the main divisions for administrative areas. The provinces vary greatly in population. The Lake Province in T.T. is run by a Provincial Commissioner who reigns supreme among, I believe, some one and a quarter million natives. The Provinces again are divided into Districts, which are in charge of a District Commissioner. The "District" is the basis of Colonial administration, and I shall try to describe one.

The best method I can think of is to describe the one I worked in. In peace-time the island of Pemba once had five political or administration officers. They were reduced to three and, for a short interval to one, during this war. At the main administrative centre of Weti there were also there British officials, a doctor, a police officer, an agricultural officer and a clove expert. The District Commissioner has a number of sub-titles which will illustrate the multiplicity of his duties: magistrate, postmaster, security officer, food and price controller, fuel controller, currency officer, administrator of deceased estates, port officer, officer in charge of troops, licensing officer, marriage officer, and so on. When any of his four colleagues fell ill, he took over their duties as well. As you see the District Commissioner is a fairly busy person and lacks nothing that was pooh-bahs except the title of Lord High Executioner.

There is a story about the District Commissioner of a Tanganyika District. One day towards the end of January, he and his assistant both discovered that they had forgotten to take out licenses for their motor-cars. So they put their heads together and decided that, as each of them was a licensing officer and each was a magistrate, the only thing they could do was to try each other.

So the District Commissioner held court and the Assistant District Commissioner appeared in the box on the familiar charge of having failed to take out a new car license within 14 days of the beginning of the New

Year. The A.D.C. pleaded guilty and was fined ten shillings. The District Commissioner stepped down from his magisterial chair to the box. The A.D.C. stepped the other way. He sat down and read the charge. "Do you plead guilty or not guilty." "Guilty," said the D.C. The A.D.C. put on his spectacles and gazed solemnly at the packed crowd in the court. "This," he said, "is the second case of this nature that has come before the court this morning. The court takes a serious view of the matter. The defendant has nothing whatever to say in his defense. The punishment will be a fine of one pound."

In any event the District Commissioner is the coordinating factor; the responsible officer when anything goes wrong. There is a very strong convention that any African, Arab or Indian should be free to see him at any time. Most of his time is, or should be, spent in interviewing and in travelling round his district. One is expected to settle every kind of problem from seamy matrimonial disputes to Arab tribal fights! To assist him in his labours the District Commissioner has a subordinate staff of 150 Indians, Arabs and natives. It is an unfortunate fact that oriental and occidental ideas of honesty are so different. In dealings with ones own subordinate staff, that has to be constantly born in mind.

I once found out that my office boy was charging visitors two shillings for the privilege of coming in to see me! I got round that by putting half-a-dozen benches in the office and keeping the doors wide open. In the morning it was rather a depressing sight. Twenty or thirty people would be sitting there, waiting patiently: Arabs, Africans and Indians. But it is the tradition in Arabia and in Africa that arbitration should take place in public: it was the only safeguard against the consequences of bribery that was at all effective.

Possibly you have heard the story of the court interpreter in Nyasaland who took bribes from both sides. He got away with this lucrative practice for many years, because he habitually returned the bribe of the client who lost the case. The loser hadn't lost any money: the winner felt it had been worthwhile, so did the interpreter and everyone was happy.

The next officials in rank to the District Commissioner are (in Pemba) the Mudirs. They are Arab officials, carefully chosen, who each have charge of an area containing 20,000 people. These mudirs have minor magisterial powers over all Arabs and Africans in their mudiras and were very much respected. Below the Mudir were the Shehas or African village headmen. The Shehas have powers of arrest and are each responsible for some 2,000 of their villagers. They function as the last link in the chain that connects the House of Commons and His Majesty in England, and the ordinary African labourer. It is an interesting fact that for many years in Zanzibar and Pemba these Shahas have been elected by their own villagers to represent them. The candidate is automatically approved by the District Commissioner, providing he has not a long criminal record. He receives a Government salary of about $5.00 per month. The Shehas can not hold court, though they habitually settle disputes between villagers out of court—usually taking a commission for doing so.

The "elected Sheha" looks a nice democratic sort of practice. In fact it is sometimes disappointing in its results. Too often the villagers will deliberately select a half-wit as their Sheha, knowing that he will cause them no trouble and that the other elders will in fact enjoy a portion of his pay—in return for having elected him.

The Mudirs hold courts for petty criminal offences, on which the Shehas act as assessors and jurors. The commonest offences are the illicit sale of liquor and petty assault. Z'bar (Zanzibar) being a Mohammedan country forbids the sale of all alcoholic liquors. Exceptions are however made in the case of Christians and alcoholics!

During the war our administration was concerned principally with two problems—the planting of additional food and price control. In view of the illiteracy of the vast bulk of the population and the inadequacies of our staff, individual rationing was impossible. But an Economic Control Board was set up which, on the whole, very successfully kept down the prices. The board aroused little opposition from the Indian traders but did a tremendous service to the natives and Arabs by keeping down prices and securing essential imports.

The food situation became so bad that eventually a Compulsory Labour Decree was introduced. This empowered the District Commissioner to order any native to cultivate a plot of land with specified crops. I left before the full results of this innovation became apparent. From the administrative point of view it was an immense burden. The decree was introduced at the request of the elders of the villages. Not unlike their counterparts in this hemisphere, they complained bitterly to the Government of the laziness of their children: of how they wouldn't do a day's work but left it to their parents to support them.

We had various other war-time duties. One of the most trying was our responsibility for the coast-watching services. Our posts were manned by Africans and Arabs whose duty it was to report all sea and air traffic by phone to the District Commissioner. Sometimes, too often for the good of one's temper, one was awakened in the night by a telephone bell ringing and a voice saying in Kiswahili: "Bwana, ndege ya jius inafika"—"Master, an high bird is approaching." When asked if the aeroplane is one of ours the invariable reply is "Ndia, hii udege yeta Alhamdullilah." "Yes, praise be to Allah it's one of ours!" In fact, of course, no native coast-watcher would have the slightest idea whether a plane or ship was friendly or not.

Before I talk about the future of this colony, I would like to say a word or two about its finances. The gross revenue per annum is usually in the neighbourhood of £500,000, say $2,000,000. These revenues are the proceeds of indirect taxes on imports and exports, the main items being an export tax on cloves. There were (before the war) no direct taxes, as in many other colonies. The only part of this revenue spent outside the Protectorate is for pensions to retired Zanzibar Government servants.

The rest is spent locally on salaries, roads, public health and education. No colony so far as I know can contribute directly to the British Exchequer. On the other hand the British taxpayer contributes whether he knows it or not, to the Colonial Development Fund for the colonies, following a debate in the Imperial Parliament (on Colonial Policy, for the first time since 1937) at which it was agreed to be the moral duty of the English nation to raise the standard of living and education of the African.

Each District Commissioner is given by the Secretariat so much money to spend in his district; the way in which it is to be spent is exactly defined. There exists a most wonderful and elaborate government accounting and auditing system which, although its requirements take up a good deal of one's time, succeeds, so far as I know, in its declared object of preventing the most ingenious and dishonest Arab or Indian clerk from stealing one cent.

Incidentally some of you may have read comparative studies of various colonial systems of government. It is true, I think, that each one gives the British Colonial Service the credit for having incorruptible white officials. This view is, so far as my experience goes, correct, but honesty in government officials is not highly prized by Africans or Asiatics. Sometimes one wonders whether the native doesn't regard an incorruptible man as synonimous with an absolute fool!

The long-run policy of His Majesty's Government has been laid down. Its aim is to give self-government in time to the native populations of colonial territories. They are to be educated to a level at which they are capable of self-government. Since, when that day comes, there will be no Colonies or Protectorates, the Colonial Office should eventually cease to exist, it might be called a self-liquidating concern.

What has been achieved along these lines in Zanzibar Protectorate so far? I have already spoken to you of the Mudirs and Shehas, the legislative councils and native juries. In other parts of East Africa, notably in Uganda and Tanganyika Territory, the process has been carried much further. In those Colonies and Mandated Territories there are many purely African courts and African Municipal Councils.

In the realm of education, a lot depends on the personality of the Director of Education. In our Protectorate, he was very much a live wire, who fought tooth and nail, night and day, for his schools and for better appointments for his pupils. His personal deputy, for example, was an Arab who had been sent by the Government to the L.S.E.

Recently, for the first time in colonial history, Africans have been appointed as political officers in West Africa. This is concrete proof, if such is needed, of the sincerity of the Colonial Office.

In East Africa the four territories of Uganda, Tanganyika, Kenya and Zanzibar Protectorate have established a permanent Governors' Conference in Nairobi. In addition there is an East African Civil and War Supplies Board there to co-ordinate the economic policies of the governments concerned. Perhaps it is the intention of the Colonial Office to establish, in the long run, a new Dominion of East Africa. Such a Dominion would presumably become a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations on an equal footing with the Dominions of South Africa, New Zealand, Australia and Canada. The same process seems to be in train in West Africa, where a Minister of State for all West African Colonies has recently been appointed for the first time in the person of Lord Swinton.

What are the difficulties? What are the obstacles? One, I have mentioned, is Indian economic and political penetration into Africa. Nor is there yet in East Africa any articulate demand for independence, such as exists in India. But in India Ghandi said that "if the alternative to British rule is chaos, I prefer chaos." The problem therefore is altogether different.

The principal obstable is of course the general lack of education. But this condition is steadily being improved upon.

We must assume that the basis for any such Dominion will be complete electoral and judicial equality between persons, whatever their colour. No one who has met the best educated Africans will deny that Africans can be well-educated. If proof of this contention is needed, an African at present is Governor of one of the largest French Colonies. I think it would be correst to say that in Kenya such a proposal would meet with vehement opposition from some of the white settlers. They are a body who exercise considerable pressure in the interests of their own community; and secondly, they are on the whole opposed to racial equality between Europeans and Africans, or Europeans and Indians. They also uphold certain privileges in regard to land ownership on a racial basis.

What is to happen to the Sultanate of Zanzibar? Our Sultan is a delightful old man; genial, shrewd, charitable and venerable, with a fine white beard and magnificent robes. What would he or his successors say to such a proposal? I don't know.

In conclusion, let us look at the history of the British Empire over the last 150 years. It has been pointed out by a lecturer in Colonial History at Oxford, that there are two distinct lines of policy. One follows the line of self-government in quick time, instances are Canada and the other Dominions. In these instances self-government was given before lasting bitterness had been aroused. Look on the other hand at what happened when independence was withheld in Ireland and Egypt! They received independence, or won it by force of arms. but our reluctance, our procrastination for reasons good or bad, left behind a legacy of hatred which may never be quite forgotten. The history of the U.S.A., of India and of Burma point the same moral.

Many senior British officials in the Colonies take the view that we must move very slowly indeed towards self-government in the Colonies. I venture to make one suggestion. The more we hasten the movement towards self-government, the better. It involves risks, that is obvious. But we have seen that on the whole those Colonies and Protectorates which became Dominions or, like Southern Rhodesia, self-governing units, and thereafter remained willing members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, were those whose demands for self-government were granted quickly. On the other hand, some territories after obtaining independence wish to dissociate themselves from Great Britain and the Empire.

There is one more angle to which I should like to draw your attention. In the past, most of the moves which have led to this self-governing partnership of states have usually originated in Whitehall, not from Colonial officials on the spot. For a multiplicity of reasons they (the Colonial officials on the spot) tend to adhere to the status quo. Perhaps the recent events in Burma and elsewhere in the Far East were a consequence of this attitude. It seems that the natives of Burma were at best relatively apathetic on the question of whether they were to be ruled by the British or the Japanese. There is a problem of personnel which it is up to the Colonial Office selection boards to resolve. Administrators in the Colonies today need brains rather than brawn. Colonies and Protectorates today present complex modern urban and industrial problems. Where the contact and sympathy between Government officials and the people is, for some reason, inadequate, riots and civil disturbances develop. Look for example at the history of the West Indies in recent years, or at the Zanzibar riots of 1936, or the riots in Cyprus.

The British Commonwealth, viewed as a voluntary association of independent states seems to most of us as admirable an instance of international co-operation as exists, securing peace over large areas of the earth. It seems therefore that we should make every effort to avoid existing Colonies and Protectorates following (if I may say so) the examples of Ireland, Egypt and India. Colonies cannot be retained indefinitely by force of arms.

It seems to me that those people who are opposed to the present declared policy of the Colonial Office—namely the education of Colonial peoples to a level at which they can govern themselves—are handicapping the development of the Empire as a voluntary association of nations. We want to maintain it as that, and to do so it seems best to place freedom and self-government in the hands of the natives of the African Colonies as quickly as possible, though one must reckon that this development will take years or even decades.

Thank you for your attention.

"THE EMPIRE IN A CHANGING WORLD"

AN ADDRESS BY

JAMES SMITH-ROSS, ESQ.

Chairman: The President, Mr. W. Eason Humphreys.

Thursday, March 16, 1944

MR. HUMPHREYS: It is because of a changing world that this Club endeavours to present the views of men and sometimes of women who by reason of their calling or experience are qualified to discuss matters of import.

Because we are citizens of Canada and of the British Empire (perhaps I should say we are also world citizens) it is essential that we practice responsible thinking, especially in these days, to aid or temper that thinking Mr. James Smith-Ross discusses with us today, "The Empire in a Changing World."

Mr. Smith-Ross was born in Egypt some 34 years ago but while still a boy went to England where he was educated.

Although our guest has been associated with the business world it is quite obvious that travel, writing and the press was his ambition. As a young man he worked with the Amalgamated Press, then he wrote several books, one entitled *Catherine of Russia.*

Smith-Ross has travelled a good deal, visiting England every year since war broke out. Nowadays he is general managed of the magazine *New World Illustrated* which, apart from its well known merits has the distinction of being the first popular bilingual magazine to be printed in both French and English.

Mr. Smith-Ross had accepted our invitation to speak to us later on in the season but when, on Tuesday last, Mr. Will Rogers telephones to say he would be detained in Washington on very important government business, our guest generously agreed to advance his date. Not only on that account are we grateful to him but also for his assistance in the matter of our invitation to Mr. Will Rogers who, by the way, will visit us on April 6th. Thank you Smith-Ross. Now will you speak to us on "The Empire in a Changing World". Gentlemen: James Smith-Ross.

Mr. Smith-Ross: Thank you very much for the honour you have done me, in asking me to speak to you here today. Whoever does so stands in the shadow of some of the world's greatest speakers. It was here that I heard Justice Sir Norman Bircket, whom I regard as probably the greatest speaker in the English language, address his eloquent plea, that we should be on our guard against interference with civil liberties. It was here that I first saw the grand manner of Sir Cedric Hardwicke, the wizardry of Mr. Mitchell Hepburn, and the earnestness of Mr. Drew. I'm afraid, like Mr. Churchill, all I can promise you is sweat and tears; I've left out the blood, I hope that won't ensue.

The title of my address is "The Empire in a Changing World," and perhaps I should make it quite clear that the Empire I'm referring to is the British Empire.

There are, as you probably know, nine empires in the world. Perhaps it would be as well if we enumerated them. There's ours, of course, the American, the Russian, the German, the Japanese, the Chinese, the Dutch, the French, and though in a less well defined form, the Arab Empire. There was a tenth, also somewhat ill deformed, but happily we were able to deal with that. Of these nine, the German and the Japanese will almost certainly be eliminated in the fullness of time. That will leave us with seven, and among these, the leaders will undoubtedly be, first the American, by a slight edge over the Russian. A very good second will be the Russian and third, the British Empire.

As far as I am able to discern, the American went ahead of us at about the turn of the century, roughly. Russia, between the two wars. Now it's only reasonable that we should ask ourselves what our position is going to be in the next thirty years. Things apparently are moving very fast and great changes can be wrought in that time.

Now whilst this growth of Empires has been going on, there's been another movement, not so much in the physical world perhaps, as in the world of ideas in people's minds, and that is a movement towards Internationalism. A movement towards the accepting of men's interdependence and the idea, that if you allow a man to be killed in China, sooner or later you have to defend yourself against the same evil force that destroyed him.

The League of Nations was an outward manifestation of this movement towards Internationalism. I think one can say, that behind the growth of Empires there are all the forces of nature, whilst behind the movement towards Internationalism there are all the forces of culture.

Selfishness is a natural instinct. It draws men's loyalties first to themselves and their families, then to their street, village or town, province, state, country, and whatever larger system they care to choose. Out of this selfish instinct for personal enrichment has come the growth of empires in the past. On the other hand, men's reasoning has made it increasingly clearer, that unless they increase the sum total of men's wealth, they can only expand their empires at the cost of others, who, sooner or later, retaliate. This process of retaliation has been going on since the beginning of time. Men are constantly at war. Wars such as this one merely give the struggle a visible and dramatic form, and, like all dramas, they tend to distract attention from basic realities. The basic reality in this case, as I said, is that men fight all the time. Now, though men and empires have an instinct for personal enrichment, they also have a desire to enjoy their riches in peace. It seems slightly incompatible in view of what I said about the retaliation that it creates. So the truth seems to be this, that selfishness lies behind the growth of Nationalistic empires and a desire for peace behind the movement towards Internationalism. The curious thing seems to me to be this, that both lead in the final analysis to somewhat the same thing, and that is the super world state. But the difference between these two super states, one formed out of force and the other out of reason, is, that the empire formed out of force must be constantly on guard and vigilant, to defend itself against force, since this is the rule by which it was formed. At the moment it ceases to be strong and vigilant, it's knocked down and smashed and replaced by another empire. On the other hand, the super world state created by men's desire for peace and based on Internationalism, does not have to defend itself, since it was built by man's volition. Some people say, well, how can you create a world state without war, since you can't maintain life without friction, this is an elemental law. Well, quite right, the whole civilizing process has been an attempt to reduce or to eliminate friction.

I hope you won't consider my approach to this subject too academic. I think I have dealt with what I consider to be basic principles affecting the Empire. Will the Empire have to defend itself by force or by reason? I think that is the vital question; I think that is the hub of the problem confronting us. Do we defend ourselves by force or by collaboration and reason? What will Russia's future intentions be? As I've said, she's growing tremendously powerful, and what will China's intentions be when her potential strength has been developed to its fullest extent? And then there's France; what will be her mood when she regains her freedom and seeks to restore her pride? And the Negroes, than whom no one has a better cause to revolt. I think it was Lin Yu Tang, whom many people regard as a very wise man, who said that the Japs slogan "Asia for the Asiatics", sounds very sweet to an Asiatic. Now, when the Japs have gone, will anybody else use that slogan "Asia for the Asiatics?" Will some ghastly accident of nature create among them a man who will speak to them about the master race as Hitler has done to the Germans? What it amounts to is this. Have we the right to hand to our children a state based on the assumption that force will never again be used?

Now there was a time when people said slavery couldn't be abolished because it had always existed, but slavery was abolished by men of faith and courage, and so can wars. The big question is, how? Some people say education is the medium by which it will be done. Well, that might well be so, but the Germans were one of the most educated people in the world. We must answer these questions and I think we have to answer them as if each one of us occupied a position of responsibility. We have to face the responsibility of decision.

Before I give you my views as to how we should answer them, I should like to sketch for you, as well as I can, the sort of world in which I think these decisions will have to be made. I think the problem of unemployment is going to be solved to a great extent. This will tend to bring backward nations with a large population into prominence. A great number of nations that were formerly agrarian will industrialize. Britain, I think, will have to grow more food and manufacture less articles for export. The dominant nations, industrially, and in almost every other sphere, will be the United States and Russia, and, I think, in all comparisons made, as to greatness in almost every sphere, the comparisons will be more and more between Russia and the United States. Europe, although it's likely to continue to be a place of turmoil, I write off almost completely. I think Russia will dominate the eastern part of Europe and England will do what she can to form alliances in the west. Germany, if she has any choice at all in the matter, will, I think, allign herself with Britain.

France, I think, will play a lonely role for some time. She is anxious to reassert her self-esteem, and I think she will probably have a certain amount of strife and we may see there a certain amount of cruelty, based on the age-old cry of expedience.

Holland, I think, will try to play an individualistic role, and so also the Scandinavian countries. From these two I think we shall hear a plea for the revival of the League of Nations, because it seems, to small nations, that the League gives them the chance to develop in the way they consider good for themselves.

I think we shall see a revival of something like the League of Nations, but basically, it will be influenced by the strength of the three leading powers. Britain, though she may resent the role, and however much it may be untrue to make the comparison, will be admired much like Rome and Greece are admired. She will be honoured and respected everywhere, and since she enjoys things of the spirit more than things of the flesh, I would think that she will accept the honour with humility.

We should, I think, now examine why the British Empire slid from first to third position in terms of physical strength. Basically, the reason seems to be that she thought of the Empire as so many separate units, rather than a single body. The emphasis has been too much on British, and too little on an empire of people of all races of the world, much like the people of the United States, where it is not infrequent to see a Greek with his arm around an Italian singing "Our Country 'Tis of Thee". But there are other reasons: I think that at a vital time in her history she cared more for form than for research and discovery. I think she failed to broaden the class from which she chose her leaders.

There were, as we all know, some unhappy sights in England between the two wars. I'll give you one or two pictures that made an impression on my mind. I remember walking down Tottenham Court Road in London one day, many of you will know it, when I saw a gaunt, hungry looking dishevelled man, striding down the street singing "Old Soldiers Never Die". It seems to me that I was observing a man's last effort to avoid the breaking of his spirit by hunger. I remember seeing the people struggling outside the labour exchanges for ditch diggers jobs and labourers. There were in England, all the time that I was there, something like six, seven or eight distinct classes, and they were extremely hidebound as the Upper class, the Middle class, the Lower class. There were even finer distinctions than that. There was a lower middle and an upper middle and then there was the artisan class, and there were fences around each and it wasn't easy for a man to go from one class to the other. They had rules that made it difficult. The thing became locked and lost its spirit of experiment.

Even now, after all the lessons of this war, it is by no means certain that everyone in England has learned the lessons of the war. But happily, I think there are enough who have. Notwithstanding all these things, had Britain possessed a larger country, a country the size of this one, she would I think, still have been leader in the world, but there's almost no room for expansion in England. She has almost reached the limits of her physical progress within that country. The requisites of physical greatness as it is understood, are, a vast territory, enormous numbers of people, mineral wealth, great industrialization, and above all, a spirit of inquisitiveness. Britain has these only in part. That being the case, it's all very well to talk glibly about the evils of the balance of power, but Britain is in a position where she has to redress the balance of power against herself. My view is this, that unless the Empire administrative system is changed, Washington will become the centre of the English speaking world.

If this happens, Britain will become merely an outer bastion of defence. She will probably enjoy greater peace during the years to come than she has known for many years past. Any would-be Caesar will realize that the United States is the hard core of our defence system, and to attack a point in the perimeter would be merely to give us time to prepare.

Trying to estimate how much progress will be made towards Internationalism is difficult, simply because one does not know what Russia is going to do. Whether she will always make her policies in collaboration with the other democracies. We don't know what shape things will take in the Orient, nor de we know what America's mood will be.

Some people feel that cheap and fast transportation and educational facilities will accelerate the movement towards Internationalism. Well, it might be so, but I don't expect startling over-night changes. To change emotional convictions is very hard, particularly when those convictions have been ingrained since childhood. If you've ever tried to convert a Catholic or a Protestant, you will know how difficult it is. Whilst we are thinking of all these problems, the United States also is thinking. How is she thinking? She knows she has a close friend in the north; must of the nations of the south are friendly to her too, although there are some danger spots there that might spread. She must defend the whole hemisphere. She knows this though above all, that to any would-be world conqueror, not Britain now, but the United States has become the big apple. Like any rich man she has a problem of defence.

Is the United States capable of dealing with any combination of nations opposed to her? I doubt it. She needs Britain and she needs as many democratic partners as she can find.

The United States must maintain her friendship with Britain, and beyond that, I think she will try to spread the idea of democracy as far as she can. I think her exports will decline after a time and her principal export will be technical knowledge and machine tools. She will have to stand by and see the world grow stronger.

I think we shall probably witness, after the war, a great battle of propaganda, aimed at making people realize qualities and virtues of the democratic states. Let us therefore, try to make a summary of the world as I have sketched it, some time after the war end.

There will be three powerful Empires, possibly a League of Nations, a great number of sectional quarrels, a strengthening of China and India, whom I have not mentioned yet (that will be a vital problem for the Empire). There will be the reconstruction of Europe, the strengthening everywhere—a slight strengthening perhaps—of peoples' sovereignty. I think we shall see excellent signs out of the United Nations Administration on things like food, currency, transportation. Britain, as I said, will try to strengthen her influence in Western Europe. In face of all this, we have to deal with the curious fact that a wave of Nationalism is going through Canada at the moment. In its simplest form, it seems like a curious revival from the past. We are, as you know, appointing ambassadors, and Mr. King's pronouncements give one a distinct impression that there is this movement towards Nationalism.

Everyone wants Canada to have the right and honour due to a nation. If Canada wants to separate herself none can stop her. But isn't there a bigger role for this country? I think so. I've always thought of Canada not so much as a nation as almost a world itself. I was always proud of our International outlook and our comparative freedom from the worst prejudices of Nationalism. I always thought this was one point in the world from which the world could be viewed objectively. I always felt that it was almost a form of emancipation. But if we want to develop strong Nationalist feelings, then we must play the game according to the rules. We must accept the responsibility, we have to increase our people enormously to achieve any rank at all. We have to have an army, navy and air force, vast industrialization. We must be prepared to compete in the world markets, and, above all, to contribute something to the ideas of the world. I would encourage this, of course, but as I said, my view of Canada is, that she has a very large role to play far beyond that.

Perhaps this would be a good point at which to tell you how I would seek to fashion the Empire, if I had the making of it. I would approach our problem with the assumption that we have five relationships to settle.

The relationship between ourselves within the Empire, that with Russia, that with Europe and that with the rest of the world. I would assume that whilst it is quite all right for individuals to take chances, empires have no right to do so. Therefore, the Empire must assume basically, that she might have to defend herself without outside help. Then I would try to do everything possible to ensure that that would never arise. Someone, I think it was Trotsky, once said, that one of the most important things in the world, was the fact that the United States and the British Empire speak the same language.

It seems to me, that we not only speak the same language in words, but that we do to a great extent in ideas. I would try very hard to achieve a union with the United States. I think my chances would be poor. Failing that, I would aim at the closest possible co-operation. Then we must do everything humanly possible to draw Russia into a democratic sharing of world responsibility. I think we shall have to be extremely patient, and in some ways tolerant, and give her all the time necessary to develop some of her institutions. I would offer Holland, France, Belgium, Norway, common citizenships with us in the Empire. I don't think that they would accept, but I think the offer would condition their minds for a possible renewal of the offer later on. I wouldn't break up Germany, but would do my best to democratize her. If one dare say it at such a time as this, I think she has many qualities, among them that of courage and industry, despite the fact that she has been misled. I would join a World League of Nations, settle currency, food, transport, health and educational problems through that medium. And this suggestion I would particularly like to make: I think we should form a Central Democratic Information Bureau, with world agencies, and try to make as many people as possible know about democracy.

To revert to the question of Empire solidarity, me must, I think, have a central administration on at least five things; foreign policy, defence, broad economic policies, immigration and education. I don't personally subscribe to the idea of perigrinating council, speaking as a business man, it seems to me rather like having a head office that shifts from town to town and you never know where it's going to be next. It is here particularly, that I would like to make my most earnest plea for the forming of an Empire Council here in Canada. You say—why Canada? Well, I think a great deal depends on the atmosphere surrounding a new venture. Here there is a youthful spirit, there's a largeness and an expansiveness. Whereas, if this council were to meet in London I think it would be weighed down by the thought of centuries. There's another reason why I would have it here. I think it would give us a better chance of an ultimate fusion with the United States, and I think this fusion must come sooner or later. For the sake of form, if people want it so, I think His Majesty the King could establish his residence here part of the time. In my view, Canada would give the British Empire a thousand years of progress. I think, when this council is formed, we should offer the United States a number of seats on it. Not one or two, because I think then too much importance is attached to the things said by the people who hold those seats. I would give them ten or twenty; let's have a community of them, and perhaps, a little later, we could make a similar offer to Russia.

Perhaps I should explain to you, that I am a Federal Unionist. In case you don't know what that is, a book was written not so very long ago by Clarence Steit, in which he advocated a world system somewhat similar to the American Constitution. I believe in it. I think it will have to come ultimately if men are to live together in peace. But I believe we must proceed on the principle of gradualism. The movement of Internationalism, and in fact an international body might then emerge from either of the two sources, the League or a council such as the one I suggested should be formed in Canada. I believe if an Empire Council were formed here with young people with vision and willingness to try new ideas, we could make a wonderful thing of this Empire. We have learned that government can supplement the efforts of industry, to maintain full employment, and out of that knowledge I think a tremendous advancement could come. We in Canada are young and keen and full of spirit of inquiry and enterprise. Let them give us a chance to help run the Empire, and we will show them what can be done, and if it pleases anybody, we will even wear our old school ties the while we do it.

I could not end my talk without paying proper homage to Britain. It is there that I received my apprenticeship in the art and the business of living, and though it is quite true that I suffered many hardships there, it is also true to say that I had times of happiness almost beyond my capacity to name. What lessons she taught me, or tried to teach me, I believe she did well, and when the time came for her to do her duty by the Empire, I think she did it with dignity and with great gallantry. There is in Britain, in my view, despite all her faults, a spiritual grandeur and a greatness of stature such as the world has never seen before.

Thank you so much.

“CANADA AND IMMIGRATION”

An Address By

PROF. WATSON KIRKCONNELL, M.A., Ph.D.

Chairman: The President, Mr. W. Eason Humphreys.

Thursday, March 23, 1944

Mr. W. E. Humphreys: Canada has many obligations,—not the least of these is the question of receiving people from other lands who may desire to become Canadians. I suggest that this difficult,—yet most vital,—question of immigration is an *obligation* to be considered both scientifically, and, with equal care, morally.

To assist us, *Professor Watson Kirkconnell,* M.A., Ph.D., F.R.S.C., of *McMaster University,* is about to speak to us on:

“CANADA AND IMMIGRATION”

Born in Port Hope—receiving his education at Queen’s and Oxford Universities,—Watson Kirkconnell has been honoured by learned societies in France, Britain, Hungary, Poland, and Iceland,—and in Western Canada he devoted much study to the racial problems of this Dominion.

Dr. Kirkconnell is President of the Canadian Authors Association,—and is himself author of some thirty publications,—among them: “Canada, Europe and Hitler”, and “Twilight of Liberty.”

Our guest is a master of languages,—in fact,—I think I may say that he makes a hobby of the study of foreign languages. Immigration, however, has also been one of his special studies, and today he gives us the benefit of his own views to help place the problem in perspective.

Gentlemen I cannot resist telling you that in the sixth century, St. Benedict laid down immigration rules for his monastic order.

We might do well to ponder those rules.

They were that

"If any pilgrim monk comes from distant parts and wishes as a guest to dwell within the monastery, and will be content with the customs which he finds in the place . . . he shall be received for as long a time as he desires. *But* if he hath been found gossipy and contumacious in the time of his sojourn as guest, not only ought he not to be joined to the body of the monastery, but also it shall be said to him, honesty, that he must depart. *If he does not go, let two stout monks, in the name of God, explain the matter to him.*"

Gentlemen: Dr. Watson Kirkconnel will now speak to us on "Canada and Immigration."

DR. WATSON KIRKCONNELL: Mr. President and Gentlemen: The subject on which your executive has invited me to speak today is one of absorbing interest to thoughtful Canadians. We are still in the throes of a great war, "in a time of the breaking of nations", and the vast human movements of our day must surely jolt us into wide-awake concern over the future of our own country and the future of the Empire. How may we hope to prosper? Are there strict limits to our destiny? What considerations should shape our population policies when peace returns again?

In the forty minutes at my disposal, I want to analyse three great aspects of our national life:

(i) Our effective area, from the standpoint of immigration.

(ii) Our resources, by which to provide for population growth.

(iii) The present character of our population, and the lessons to be learned from it.

Before I launch out upon the stormy waters of statistics, however, I should like to put on record two or three qualifying principles:

(i) The present urgent need, on grounds of Christian compassion and sheer humanity, to provide shelter for a few thousand tormented refugees from Europe should be kept distinct from the larger problem of post-war immigration.

(ii) Post-war immigration policy should visualize and provide assurance of relatively full employment for our population, regardless of racial origin. Until the Canadian economy has made due provision for the millions of Candians now in the armed forces and in special war industries, we have no business to jeopardize their economic security by pouring in extensive immigration.

(iii) Immigration should be under the direct control of the government, without any subsidiary arrangement with private interests.

And now to come to grips with the realities of our Canadian economy.

THE NET TERRITORY

Few subjects are so completely misunderstood by Canadians as the extent of their country that is available for settlement. Our vast area on the map inspires the patriot to make speeches on the unlimited expansion of population that we may look for. It likewise moves the heart of our humanitarian citizens with pity for the crowded peoples of other lands, of whom it is our immediate Christian duty to import one or two hundred millions—lest they move in and take over anyway. But let us get down to statistics. The over-all area of Canada is estimated at 3,750,000 square miles. The *Canada Year Book,* however, lists two million square miles as "waste land" and another million and a quarter square miles as "fit for forest only". The 1940 edition, at page 251, states that only 8.6 per cent of Canada's area is arable. This amounts to only 325,000 square miles, or the combined area of Texas and Okhlahoma, and three-quarters of this is already being used for field crops and pasture.

This point cannot be too strongly and frequently stressed. Canada could give away over 90 per cent of its territory and still retain all of the land that is available for permanent settlement. One sack of coal delivered in a two-ton truck remains one sack of coal.

It is on this more modest basis of settlement that we need to estimate the possible population of Canada. In terms of our more restricted area, the population of Canada is not 3 per square mile but 35.4 per square mile, or more than twice the density of Texas. The density for the entire United States in 1920 was 35.5 per square mile. On a New World basis, we are not so glaringly underdeveloped.

Over against the congested populations of Europe or India, however, we, like the United States, may seem to be prodigally provided with elbow-room. If peasants in the Balkans can raise a family on five acres of land, why cannot Canada, by comparable concentration, add several millions to its population?

It may be admitted at once that after centuries an ultimate swarming of this sort may come. Permit me to summarize, however, certain reasons why it is not likely to come in our time:

(1) Most of the arable land in Canada is already owned and occupied. He would be a bold bureaucrat who would ask the average Ontario farmer to move over and make room for 19 other families on his 100-acre farm. The whole trend of agriculture in the world today, moreover, is toward larger farm units and greater mechanization, calling for fewer hands to work. Part of the exodus from Western Canada is due to the fact that every combine deprives at least five men of a harvest job. "A large farm that formerly took on 30 men in the spring and another 120 to 150 during the harvest now employs only 14 men throughout the year. An average small farm will employ 2 to 3 men instead of 8 to 10." (H. B. Butler, International Labour Organization, 2nd Supplementary Report of the Director, p. 10). The big collective farms in Soviet Russia represent the same tendency on a large scale. For Canada to defy the whole trend of our time, and revert to a peasant economy, simply to get more population, seems uncertain of success.

(2) Peasant concentration involves poverty beyond anything we can conceive. The value of all the agricultural output of Hungary, per capita of the rural population, is only about sixty dollars a year, and the standard

of life is catastrophically low. Scientific agriculture, including the extensive use of fertilizers, may raise the output per acre considerably, as in the case of Denmark, but one must remember that in Denmark over four-fifths of the arable land is in farms of over 25 acres each. (*Encyclopedia Britannica,* 1943, ed., vii, 205.)

(3) Climate is another factor. The short growing season limits, in most of Canada, the possibilities of the crop year; while the severity of our winters calls for considerable expense in fuel and heavy clothing.

(4) Accessibility to markets is a vital factor. It is scant comfort to a man on virgin soil in the remote Peace River country to get 100 bushels of oats to the acre if it costs him 37 cents a bushel merely to get it out as far as Edmonton. Or again, were the black soil of the Red River Valley close to New York, it might support ten times its present number of market-gardeners. But geography has doomed it to a restricted local market. It is not a matter of time, but of costs. Aeroplanes could rush Manitoba lettuces and celery to New York in a single morning; but the expense of shipping, whether by plane, train or truck, will always be many times that of shipping from New Jersey or Connecticut. New methods of dehydrating vegetables and fruits may help somewhat, but competitive transportation costs still remain. Intensive agriculture requires proximity to large centres of population, and that condition is lacking in the case of most of Canada's agricultural areas.

Certain blue-eyed optimists, however, have no misgivings. All you have to do is to pour in new population and it will create new wealth and new demands for goods. One such opinion that I have on file reads: "The great American depression was due in part to the closing of the immigration gates. There might not have been so much unemployment had a steady stream of immigrants, worth perhaps $10,000 apiece on the hoof, come into the country betwen 1920 and 1929, creating immediately a demand for housing, foodstuffs, cotton-goods, etc.".

This is an egregious error. The potential value of each newcomer may indeed be $10,000 to the country; but unless he can earn wages, or create immediate wealth on the land, or bring capital with him, his effective demand for goods and services is precisely nil. He creates a demand for nothing but relief. He can no more contribute to the development of the national wealth than can a billion tons of molybdenite in the heart of Ungava, a thousand miles from a railway. If he represents labour in excess of the country's economic development—determined by resources, capital enterprise and effective markets—then he will fail to find employment and will prove a sheer loss to the Dominion.

History of Canadian Immigration

For the proof of this, let me appeal to the actual history of immigration into Canada. The simple truth is that during the 80 years from 1851 to 1931 the total immigration into Canada was almost exactly the same as the total emigration out from Canada, chiefly to the United States. The late M. C. MacLean has shown that if there had been neither immigration nor emigration during those years, our own natural increase would have given us a population at least as large as we have today. The net result of the immigration was the replacement of a considerable number of native Canadians by new-comers from abroad.

Over the period as a whole, Canada always had twice as many new settlers available as she could absorb. For example, in the decade 1871-1881, the immigration doubled, but only one immigrant in five remained in Canada. In 1881-1891, the immigration increased two and a half times, but only one in nine remained. In the decade 1891-1901, six out of every ten immigrants left Canada. In our most phenomenal period of influx, 1901-1911, some 1,848,000 entered Canada, but the emigration was around one million. Between 1921 and 1931, we received a million and a half new citizens, but lost a million and a quarter. During the whole period from 1851 to 1931, we lost 6,110,000 people to the United States, of whom 1,740,000 were native Canadians and 4,370,000 were immigrants who had found it impossible to get a foothold in our economic life. The U.S.A., with 6 times our farmland, 40 times our coal output, 50 times our iron output, and 850 times our petroleum output, not to mention 70 times our available savings, was apparently able to handle all our surplus.

A minor variant of this story is to be found in the case of the Prairie Provinces, to which some of our optimists would glibly assign a potential population of forty millions. Unfortunately, the Prairie Provinces are today failing to provide even for such population as they have. From 1921 to 1936, some 632,000 persons came into the Prairie Provinces from outside of Canada and the natural increase was 522,171. As the actual increase in population was only 458,809, there was an evident loss of almost 700,000 persons who were unable to make a living in the West. For the decade 1931-1941, the Prairies could not even support their own natural increase. During these ten years, as the natural increase in the West was 315,000 and the actual total increase only 45,000, there must have been a net exodus of 270,000.

Neither should we forget that the American frontier has been closed since 1930, and that as late as 1937 Canada still had a million persons on direct relief. Many factors were involved in the depression, but there were grounds for suspecting that our country, as then administered, was not capable of absorbing even our own natural increase.

Let me reiterate the sad truth that emerges from our past experience of immigration. At no time in the past 90 years, apart from the temporary emergencies of war, has Canada ever had a shortage of man-power. We have always had more people than we could digest. Natural increase would have brought us at least the population that we have. As fast as new water ran into our little millpond, just as fast the water spilled over the dam and ran away.

Development Comes First

What then is the answer, gentlemen? If we want to have more water, we must build a higher dam. If we wish to have a larger population, we must turn to a wise survey of our resources, a bold planning for their development, a brave capitalization of every authentic project, and an unwearied search for markets to vindicate our expansion. Take care of the development, and the population will take care of itself. But the planning, the investing, the essential brain-and-money work must come first. Unless Canadians are incapable of profiting by past experience, that is the conclusion they will draw from the lamentable story of our losses in population. Instead of indulging in day-dreams as to how many millions can come streaming in through our Atlantic ports, we need to turn to the sober practical problem of so opening up our resources that we may have jobs to offer—jobs for our own native-born and jobs for newer citizens-to-be. It speaks well for the sagacity of the present Premier of Ontario that he is already arranging for a provincial department of Planning and Development. Only so shall we pass from pipe-dreams to realities.

Depleted Resources

The task will not be easy. Although we have been told on every Dominion Day since 1867 that Canada has "unlimited natural resources", yet our responsible authorities give us no such assurance. Let us run hastily over some of these unlimited resources, so that we may appreciate the problems of the planners:

(I). First, take the soil. Here we have about 325,000 square miles, of which 256,700 square miles are occupied. Manitoba and Saskatchewan, for example, report to the Rowell-Sirois Commission that they had virtually no land left for settlement. The main area still available is in the Peace River district, where soil experts anticipate a possible increase, in the next 20 years, of perhaps 250,000 persons. Wholesale clearing by peace-time troops with bull-dozers, so as to give each settler fifty acres cleared to start with, would be one sort of guarantee of speedy and permanent settlement. An experiment at Kapuskasing, in the Ontario Clay Belt, at the close of the last war, where each man was given only ten acres cleared, proved a complete failure.

More serious, however, than this comparative lack of good new land to develop, is the rapid deterioration of the soil in the regions that are occupied. For example, the 1942 report on "Conservation and Post-War Rehabilitation", prepared by the so-called Guelph Conference, presents a picture of grim decay right here in Southern Ontario. Some of you are aware of the report, but we cannot read it too often. Let me quote: "All renewable natural resources of Southern Ontario are seriously depleted. Soil is impoverished; water is becoming less available; what water remains is largely polluted; forest cover is decreasing; erosion is increasing; and wild life has diminished in abundance. . . . In short, unplanned exploitation of the renewable natural resources of the Province has gravely reduced their productivity and has established a progressive degradation which will end in sterility unless control measures are adopted." That is a story that can be repeated of rural Canada everywhere. The verdict of our scientists on our resources of soil is that we have "established a progressive degradation that will end in sterility". Of the 30,000 square miles of farm lands in Old Ontario, upwards of 8,000 square miles are now seriously dismantled, and the process goes on apace. The remedies for the erosion are fairly well known—reforestation, contour ploughing, and the building of ponds and dams—but as the report points out, "it may fairly be said that nothing is being done to cope with it".

Instead, therefore, of gaily counting in advance the millions of new farmers that we are going to settle on our land, we shall need to make sure that our grandchildren do not face an arid countryside of sand-dunes and empty wells and starving live-stock.

(II). Next, let us consider our forests. The *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1943 edition, vol. ix, p. 504) gives the following rather alarming summary of our present timber situation: "In Canada, the total amount of accessible merchantable saw-timber is estimated at approximately 61½ billion cubic feet and of pulpwood 52 billion cubic feet. The forests are being destroyed from two to two and a half times faster than they are being grown. Taking an annual drain upon the forests of 5 billion cubic feet, the accessible stands of virgin forests will be exhausted in about 25 years. . . [The Canadian supply of pulpwood, though large, is already given so much concern that the exportation of manufactured wood or subject to restriction in several provinces."]

Instead, therefore, of being able to expand our timber-cutting to take care of a larger population, we shall face timber bankruptcy unless we reduce our cut or else eliminate the present loss of a billion cubic feet a year through fire, insects and disease, employ less wasteful industrial processes, and undertake large scale scientific forest culture.

(III). The fishery resources of Canada are very important, as two of the four great sea-fishing areas of the world border on Canada. The total number of persons engaged in fishing or in fish-canning in 1938 was almost 87,000. It is probable, however, that without careful measures of conservation and fish culture, we have reached the peak of development.

(IV). Trapping and fur-farming will continue to be of economic importance, but do not represent a large outlet for population.

(V). Canada's power resources are very extensive, with a possible turbine installation of over 43,000,000 horse power, of which only 19 per cent has been developed. Much of the potential power is isolated, however, in the remoter districts of Manitoba and Quebec, where it must wait on co-ordination with mineral extraction or manufacturing.

(VI). When we turn to mining, today second only to agriculture as a basic industry in Canada, we find the resource that is most likely to permit great expansion in the years that lie ahead. I say "likely", rather than "certain", because prospecting, like horse-racing, is full of unpredictable hazards, and because only limited areas of our great North have so far revealed treasures for the miner.

In the *Globe and Mail* for May 21, 1943, there appeared a most significant statement by the Hon. Robert Laurier, then Minister of Mines in the Ontario Government. "The Ontario Department of Mines," said Mr. Laurier, "has long been conscious of the fact that the position of its mining industry was not economically sound. It has also been conscious of the fact that the interests of the people of the Province and the Dominion were seriously jeopardized by the fact that proven ore deposits were being depleted at a rate far in excess of replacements."

While this does not necessarily mean that Canada's minerals will soon be exhausted, it does mean that such known deposits as are accessible and capable of being worked on terms of world competition are being used up at a prodigal rate. What we shall need is an extensive and vigorous programme of prospecting for new mines and an endeavour to develop the great known resources of the Canadian prairies, the Subarctic, and even the Arctic archipelago, most of which have hitherto been regarded as being too remote to be of any economic significance.

Manufacturing Important

(VII). Most important of all, perhaps, is the development of new secondary manufacturing enterprises, dependent on the primary extractive industries. What these should be, I feel scarcely competent to enumerate. It might be, for instance, that the field of ceramics could undertake great expansion, or that the use of wheat-straw for paper (now successfully begun) could be much extended. The whole field of industrial chemistry opens up vast possibilities. It would take us 320 years, at our past maximum rate of growth, to have enough people in Canada to consume our present wheat crop; but a large fraction of the same acreage put into cellulose-crops for plastics might help to bring our economy more into balance. Alkalis from brine, nitrates from atmospheric nitrogen, synthetic dyes from coal or wood-pulp, inexhaustible food supplies from sea-weeds and plankton, an expansion of the use of light metals—there are scores of ways in which biochemical and metallurgical science may contribute to the expansion of our industry. The replacement of our crowded urban slums by hygienic homes in healthy surroundings—after the fashion that I admired six years ago in the Scandinavian countries—would give our architects and builders full employment for a generation. Indeed, the possibilities that science, capital and human enterprise might bring to the renovation and enrichment of our industrial civilization, might well transcend all of the difficulties that I have so far outlined and make possible a population far larger than I have envisaged.

Let me emphasize, however, that it can only come by toil and planning. Look after the development and the population will look after itself.

Much of the development, moreover, will need to be positively new. It is well to remember that the addition of extra factories in an existing industry in Canada would not necessarily result in a clear addition to the national output. The United States Commissioner for Labour Statistics stated about 15 years ago that if 200 of the 1357 boot and shoe factories in that country worked full time, they could satisfy the whole existing demand, and the remaining 1,157 establishments could be closed down. Hence, if all of Britain's boot and shoe firms over and above Britain's domestic needs were transferred to Canada, they could scarcely hope to compete in the American market, they might well find the Canadian market already saturated, and they would have assumed the cost of transatlantic shipping as an almost fatal handicap in the European market.

That brings me to the all-important but all-uncertain question of markets. For economic expansion, we must have access to extensive and varied markets, and our Commercial Intelligence service will be taxed to the utmost in its endeavours to find an outlet for Canadian products. Mr. C. M. Croft, the director of that branch of the Department of Trade and Commerce, has even pointed out that at the end of the war some of our former markets may be permanently lost to us.

We shall also need to consider the necessity of import trade. The Canadian manufacturer cannot expect to have the Canadian market entirely to himself if Canadian products are to be sold abroad. As Lord de la Warr recently warned the Canadian Club of Toronto, "there is only one recognized way of payment—by accepting goods". The whole development of the Canadian economy is going to be conditioned by our import and export trade, and until we know more of such post-war factors, much of our planning is pure guess-work.

Statistical Forecast

In spite of all these elements of uncertainty, some of you may still be expecting me to give actual estimates of the numbers whom we might take in under the most favourable conditions. Let me refer again to the past. Our previous maximum in growth was 180,000 a year, during the decade 1901-1911, when we were opening up the Prairies on a large scale. *If* we had another Northwest to settle, (which we have not), or *if,* as the only possible alternative, we could develop our mineral resources and existing farm output to an equivalent extent and find new markets for that extra amount of trade, then we might hope again to reach that peak growth of 180,000 a year. Our own natural increase, however, is 130,000 a year, and if a closed American frontier did not permit us to give the States an annual gift of 130,000 Canadians, then the most we could hope to absorb from abroad would be 50,000 immigrants a year. At that rate, it would take 20 years to bring in one million new citizens. Our own natural increase in itself, if we can maintain and retain it, will give us a population of 20 millions to provide for by the end of the century.

The Waning Anglo-Saxon

Many of us are interested, however, not only in the size of the Canadian nation but also in its character. Here, too, we must face the facts. According to the 1941 census, our total population of 11,506,655 falls into three main groups:

Anglo-Saxons	5,715,904 or 49.7 per cent.
French	3,483,038 or 30.3 per cent.
Others chiefly European	2,307,713 or 20.0 per cent.

These figures, however, give us only part of the picture, for populations are not static and it is important to consider the trend of group statistics as well as their quantity at a given moment. Whereas the Anglo-Saxons constituted 60.55 per cent of Canada's population at the first Federal census in 1871, they have now dropped to 49.7 per cent, and that in spite of the immigration of millions from the British Isles. The French, who were 31.07 per cent in 1871, are now 30.3 per cent, but have increased absolutely from one million to 3½ millions in seventy years, without the aid of immigration. The "other groups" have risen, largely through immigration, from 8.39 per cent to 20 per cent, although most of the people in these newer communities are now Canadian-born. The Anglo-Saxons have become an actual minority in Canada.

Nor is this all. The Anglo-Saxons, who in 1931 constituted 52 per cent of the population, have for the past fifteen years been contributing less than 40 per cent of the annual births in this country. In other words, only about 40 per cent of the Canadian children of school age are of Anglo-Saxon origin, and their adult generation will be correspondingly diminished. A century hence will see them at perhaps 25 per cent of Canada's population.

Observations on the Situation

Certain comments are due on this situation:

(1) This alarming trend towards group extinction is due simply and solely to the failure of the Anglo-Canadians to maintain a survival birth-rate. They have preferred a high standard of life to a home full of children.

(2) To seek a blood-transfusion of British immigration would, if economically possible, prove only a temporary expedient. Birth control is a malady that has advanced even further in Britain than it has in Canada. Mr. Herbert Morrison, the British Home Secretary, has recently summed up the United Kingdom situation in these terms: "On the basis of present trends, if uncorrected, our population would be halved by the end of this century and nearly half of its people would be over 60. That way lies national extinction." (Cf. *Hamilton*

Spectator, July 27, 1943.) To import confirmed race suicides might retard our disappearance but would only postpone the ultimate day of extinction.

(3) Some good people assure me that the subnormal birth-rate is only a temporary phenomenon, and will rise to normal again, especially if economic conditions improve. I can only say that I do not know of a solitary case in human history where this trend has been reversed in any class or group where it had become established. (For example, of the forty-five famous old patrician families represented in the Roman senate in Julius Caesar's day, only one was represented by posterity in Hadrian's time, 150 years later.) As for the wistful hope that improvements in national income will do the trick, it seems, on the contrary, a normal phenomenon that a rise in group-income brings a fall in the birth-rate. It is precisely our well-to-do groups that fail most conspicuously to perpetuate their stock. A taste of personal comfort brings reluctance to sacrifice it for the sake of numerous children, unless a strong sense of religious duty sustains the moral fibre. It is an ironic situation that Anglo-Canadians are willing to make every sacrifice in war to ensure the immediate survival of their groups, but do not show the slightest interest in its survival thirty years hence. Their stock is withering at the root, here in the soil of commercial prosperity, and nobody seems to care.

(4) It is all the more important for us to realize the merits of our fellow-Canadians of other stocks, and to work towards a co-operative unity of effort in the upbuilding of our common country. In the course of 18 years spent in Western Canada, I came to know and appreciate many of the newer communities who, for the most part Canadian-born, are blending more and more into our national life. Or again, contact with the literature of French Canada has led me to realize the culture and spirituality that Quebec can contribute to our mutual destiny.

(5) The choice of new immigrants should not be exclusively British. We claim to be fighting in these times

against racial arrogance and intolerance. If, then, at the close of this war, one of the gallant young Polish airmen who helped to win the Battle of Britain were to seek entrance into Canada, how could we dare to tell him: "None but Anglo-Saxons need apply."? And how could we face his brave Polish-Canadian kinfolk who have been fighting in our own army, navy and air force?

We hope to see in Canada the perpetuation of a democracy in the British tradition—the tradition built up in this country by Baldwin and Lafontaine, by Macdonald and Laurier. We should therefore give preference in immigration, regardless of race or creed, to those whose political background, intelligence and love of freedom are likely to fit them for such a democracy. Such a principle will give us admirable citizens from Britain; but it will also bring in men and women of the finest type from other lands as well. It is selective immigration, on a basis that will call for a scrutiny of each man's background. Most of Canada's Finns have been praiseworthy citizens, but thousands of Finnish Communists, admitted indiscriminately in the early 1920's, have been a turbulent element in our life ever since. Most of our Doukhobors have been law-abiding and constructive, but the "Sons of Freedom" sect has proven hopelessly antisocial.

(6) If we hope to secure a fair proportion of settlers from Britain, we may need to raise the standard of our labour legislation. During the decade prior to the present war, we lost more people to Britain than we received from her, and that in spite of distinct preferences shown to the United Kingdom (e.g. by Order-in-Council of March 21, 1931). The lack of a social security system in Canada was almost certainly partly to blame.

(7) In the past, we have left our new-comers largely to themselves, without help or guidance. More attention should be devoted to helping them to adjust themselves to the new country and to understand, as a condition of their naturalization, the character of our state and the responsibilities they should assume as citizens.

A BRITISH RESPONSIBILITY

(8) If the British in Canada, like the British in the world, are a dwindling people in point of numerical strength, we have two serious responsibilities towards the future:

The first is domestic. We shall need to be sure that the Canadian civilization of which we now enjoy the economic and political leadership maintains a tradition of indubitable justice. For instance, hundreds of thousands of non-British Canadians, who suffered in undeserved idleness during ten depression years, are today enjoying full employment, their labour earnestly courted by the nation at war. Agitators assure them, however, that when peace-time comes they will be cast aside again to make room for returned men or even for new immigrants from overseas. The assumption is that the revolutionists can lead them into a new order where they can be sure of work. If we fail to provide employment, not only for the returned man but also for the rest of our Canadian people, we shall be playing into the hands of the agitator and shall be storing up trouble for our national future. We have no business bringing in large scale immigration until we can assure reasonably full employment and social security for our existing population, regardless of racial origin.

Second, we need to interpret to our fellow-countrymen the importance of collaboration with the rest of the Empire in a general system of world peace. If the past thirty years have taught us anything, they have surely shown us that isolation from world affairs is impossible, and that if we rush into neutral seclusion like a scared rabbit into a burrow, world forces will none the less inexorably dig us out for destruction. Only as people of good will can co-operate together, can we hope for protection from dark and tyrannous world conspiracies. Britain can no longer police the seas alone; Britain and the United States appear indissolubly bound to common support; and to whom shall we Canadians first turn for co-operative action if not to those nations with whom we share a common loyalty to a common throne? Collective security is vital, on as wide a basis as possible; but how can we hope to co-operate with Russia or China, whose character we see so imperfectly through the mists of propaganda, if we refuse to co-operate with Britain whom we know so well? How can we get along with distant neighbours, if we stand aloof from members of our own household?

BRIEF SUMMARY

Such then are some of the considerations that arise when we consider the problem of immigration in the light of Canada's past and future.

Our resources, though great, have been recklessly impaired and need wise conservation as well as wise development. Our past history points out the folly of bringing in heavy immigration without prior preparation in the opening up of new areas and processes. All our experience is against any sudden and fantastic influx of new population. Our national development, at least in our lifetime and that of our children, is likely to be on a modest scale, with 20 millions as a possible limit for the end of the century.

Yet I cannot see why we should interpret greatness only in terms of numbers. We are the heirs of two great traditions of freedom and civilization, and shall be great in spirit if we are worthy of those traditions. We shall be still greater if we have vision to see our place in a larger enterprise, co-operating freely, not only in the emergencies of war but also in the greater tasks of world peace and world freedom. The Empire as a centralized and expansive power is a thing of the past. The Empire as a voluntary association of peoples, side by side with the United States, as the stable centre of gravity of a system of world security, is the chief hope of the future. And frankly, gentlemen, apart from such a wise and resolute commitment to world issues, I see little hope for this blood-stained world of ours. The forces of disruption and revolution are world-wide and insatiable. If uncontrolled by just and freedom-loving men, they may plunge us into new Dark Ages of destruction. Canada and the Empire will be most truly great as they join with nations of good will to make possible a future for mankind.

"QUEBEC, OLD AND NEW"

AN ADDRESS BY

JACQUES DUMOULIN, K.C., M.L.A.

Chairman:
The Vice-President, Mr. Charles R. Conquergood.

Thursday, March 30, 1944

MR. CONQUERGOOD: It is a custom of The Empire Club once a year to invite to our platform a citizen of the Province of Quebec to address our members.

A year ago we were honoured by the presence of a distinguished churchman, Monsieur L'Abbe Arthur Maheux, who addressed us on "Canada Victorious, Happy and Glorious". It was a message which was greatly appreciated.

Today, our guest speaker comes to us from our sister province of Quebec, Monsieur Jacques Dumoulin, K.C., M.L.A.

Mr. Dumoulin was born in Quebec, studied at Loyola College and Quebec Seminary. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree from Laval University. Read law at Laval, obtaining the degree of Doctor of Laws, and was called to the Bar in 1921. Ten years later, in 1931, he was appointed King's Counsel.

In 1939 he contested the riding of Montmorency and was elected to the Quebec Legislature. He is a member of Provincial Council of Public Education, Member of the Council of the Quebec Bar Association and a Director of the Quebec City and District Savings Bank.

Some years ago, I recall that a speaker from the Province of Quebec, used a phrase when addressing a meeting in Toronto which I still recall. He was referring to the manner in which the traditions of the past were transferred to hopes and aspirations of the future, and pointed out that there came a time in every man's career when he found it necessary to turn from being the son of his father to becoming the father of his son.

Something of the past and something of the future is suggested in the title our guest has chosen, "Quebec Old and New". I have the honour to present to The Empire Club, Monsieur Jacques Dumoulin, K.C., M.L.A.

MONSIEUR DUMOULIN: You have had some very kind words, and I cannot but hope that the audience will share your indulgence.

My situation towards you is somewhat akin to that of an American politician who, being introduced to the Governor's wife, was effusively told by this lady: "Oh! Senator, I've heard a lot about you!" "Possibly you have, Mem," answered that office-holder, "but you can't prove anything."

I may be pardoned, I trust, for the candid impression that today's meeting rouses your curiosity.

The Empire Club's customary guests are culled from the roster of the great: Premiers, Cabinet Ministers, famed Justices, financial magnates or scientific wizards.

You are now recoiling from that exalted species *Vir illustris* to the lack-lustre *home vulgarus.*

Your humble servant, gentlemen, is destitute of all the trappings of celebrity, having gone so far as to refuse his subscription to *Who's Who.* Should he appear in that Domesday-Book, it must perforce be *in forma pauperis.*

You practically ignore who I am, the little I may have done and the great deal I haven't done; if I have a wife or not and, in the affirmative, whether or not she is happy with me. You can just conjecture.

Such are my motives, Mr. Chairman, for holding that your distinguished members are possibly tickled at resting their understandably fastidious gaze upon a mere man in the street, and, for a more precise reference, from St. Peter street, Quebec.

As the well-known Chinese philosopher, Mr. Lin

Yutang, would put it, I purpose to talk about my Country and my People. This subject, probably is not a novel one to you, but is the topic about which I may submit personal information and opinions.

Quebec is frequently the butt of misrepresentations, either wilful or involuntary, so that an attempt at refocusing the picture may not be amiss.

My people began trickling into Canada shortly after 1608, under Champlain's Governorship. Despite tremendous odds and frightful hardships, they opened up strip after strip of land along the St. Lawrence, from Tadoussac, on the North Shore and Matane on the South, up river to Montreal.

They contended against the primeval forest, a harsh, inexorable climate, dire poverty, the ever recurring Iroquois.

To Indian forays, were soon added graver concerns: the incursions of English fleets, the New Englanders' inroads by way of Lake George, Lake Champlain and the Richelieu.

These embattled colonists tilled their alloted portion of soil in spring and summer; deftly and joyously crept into the trackless wilds, the Governor's edicts notwithstanding, when late October frosted the ground.

No river, large or small, no stream, brook or lake, but that these part-time coureurs-des-bois came to know from inlet to outlet. With musket and brandy keg, they hunted and bargained for pelts, enjoying to the full the grim but exhilarating freedom of space unlimited.

Practically the entire continent, from the Acadian vales to the Rockies, to the Mississippi and the marshy flatlands fringing the Mexican Gulf, witnessed the pioneering exploits of these unshorn, unwashed, yet untamed and unfettered adventurers.

Bold always and quarrelsome with men, I venture to think not a few amongst them meekly subsided into occasional subserviency before the sex as, doubtless, the shades of many a toothsome squaw might testify.

What these modest but unsurpassable explorers originally were, in far away France, agriculturists, laborers, or obscure craftsmen in provincial towns, I couldn't tell you; let us judge them solely by their deeds.

Scores untold have passed into oblivion, whilst an immortal band blazed their way to History's shrine. Their names: Joliette, Marquette, La Hontan, Mantet, La Corne St-Luc, Hertel de Rouville, Nicolas Perrot, the seven Lemoyne brothers, under the leadership of their illustrious senior, Lemoyne d'Iberville, flashing conqueror of Hudson Bay, who fought and won a hundred frays, only to die in Cuba, duelling over some lady love.

So much for the reckless urge of worldly ambitions. A word, now, about New France's spiritual pioneers who, at risk of life and limb, spread Christian ideals unto the innermost fastnesses of hostile tribes.

The names of Fathers Brebeuf, Lallemant, Garnier, Chabanel, Jogues, Goupil, receive the reverential tributes of coreligionists and dissenters alike.

Assuredly, in the Huron stockades at St. Mary, St. Ignatius, St. Joseph, a transcending love of God imparted to the martyrs a superhuman fortitude.

The heathen's fury, however, was kindled through prompting that had little to do with the spiritual. These children of the woods resented most the missionaries' unrelenting attempts at instilling a modicum of Christian ethics, decency and equity in their lawless lives.

Warning was given the redskins against treating their wives and children as so many beasts of burden; against race-killing lewdness, and the prevalent practice of clubbing to death the aged and the lame; an economical but too drastic form of old-age pension.

Also, the fathers unflinchingly deterred the Indian from flittering away the product of his exacting pursuits at the beck and call of whisky goading extortionists.

Let us pause a moment and consider that the heroes of 1646, 1648 and 1649 bore witness, at the torture post, to civilization itself. "Their virtues," writes Francis Parkman, shine like diamonds and gold in the gravel of the torrent."

Immigration, despite Louis the Fourteenth's sporadic efforts, never was a potent demographic factor in New France. Still, as you possibly realize, we seem to possess a romantic and compensatory formula; for additional information, kindly apply to Callender, Ontario.

Even so, in 1759, New France's population amounted to 65,000 as compared with a million inhabitants in New England and other British-American colonies. ff

The fact that France's population, at the time, more than doubled that of England, fully vindicates my previous contention of a low migratory stream to our shores.

Between 1660 and 1760, date of the last pitched battle for the possession of Canada, a hundred years of conflict ensued.

A hard, cruel, century of pitiless raids, or border settlements burned to the ground, and thriving villages stormed in the dead of night, put to the torch, while those inhabitants, unable to escape, were either killed outright or hurried off to a distant captivity.

We had Hertel de Rouville, for instance, as a partisan leader; you ended up with Rogers and his Rangers.

Action called for retaliation, retaliation brought about reprisals; thus was the Devil's Code of Honour followed to its bitter finale.

How could a community so restricted in numbers, beset with continuous warfare, deprived of effective outside help, keep on subsisting, even though on a meagre scale? Those were the halcyon days of readily accepted rationing, when fishing or the hunt made up for many a deficient larder.

Intermittent exchanges with the French Antilles; agriculture in its exacting, initial, phase; catering to the scanty requirements of local needs and, above all, the fur trade, brought a precarious flow of blood to the Colony's economic veins.

To promote this latter end, the fur trade, forts and blockhouses were built from Niagara, the narrows at Michillimakinac, onwards to the future site of New Orleans.

Military annals unfold a heroic story of capture and recapture, taking and retaking of strategic points.

Until this slow approach was completed, Wolfe could not triumph and die on the Plains of Abraham.

This fatidic day, September 13th, 1759, had its sequel, eight months later, on St. Foye's slopy grounds. April 27, 1760, saw the Chevalier de Levis leading the remaining French troops, fused with Canadian Militiamen, put to flight Murray's Grenadiers.

No tangible results followed. Shortly after, Montreal surrendered; France's Golden Lilies recrossed the Atlantic to be finally dissolved in the Revolution's blood bath.

Surely, none will begrudge us the forlorn consolation of holding that our forefathers gave up to yours a victorious sword.

The fray is over; what next? Officers, petty noblemen, and some others composing the erstwhile officialdom, hastened back to France.

Even then the name was not new, still, don't you agree that the sixty odd thousands who, in the agony of disaster, never imagine, one single moment, they might do aught but see it through in their homeland, acquired an added right to the appellation of "Canadians".

Penniless Habitants and small townsfolk were thus left to shift for themselves, under the benevolent guidance of impoverished "Seigneurs" and a depleted clergy.

Strange to say, I am rather prone to suspect the Canadians did not regret overmuch the departure of their European lords.

If so, why? The French, except for a certain outward arrogance, were, on the whole, decent administrators, debonnair people.

The reason, I think, is simple enough: a century and a half had evolved in the minds and souls of the native born an inchoate, but nevertheless authentic strain of national consciousness.

Canada, they felt, belonged to all who meant to live and die there, and not to temporary appointees of an unfamiliar Metropolis.

A title deed, in the oaken chest, whetted the Habitant's possessive instinct and, in his stubborn mind, loomed as equivalent to God's own franchise.

The 17th century emigrant to these barbaric parts must have been, knowingly or not, a passionate seeker after a freedom, ready to acquire a new mode of life and gradually forget about his former existence.

More than a hundred years later, his great-grandchildren were guaranteed, by the Treaty of Paris, the free exercise of their religion, their language, property and individual rights, under the public laws of England and French civil law as it then obtained in the Colony.

Nimble-minded historians may dissect the Covenant, attempting to read in or out of it whatever they choose. In 1763, the French-Canadian did not stoop to such niceties. Grasping one essential fact: that he was granted sufficient elbow-room, he unhesitatingly resolved to make the best of a hard matter.

The Cession, I believe, found this country possessed of definite traditions of her own.

Intercourses between Old and New France had, of necessity, been limited in the extreme.

Books were a rarity, learning, notwithstanding some creditable colleges and convents, remained a privilege of the very few.

As time went by, scores of colonists had even allowed their names to lapse, and assumed new cognomens. Among these, some alluded to the bearer's racial stock: Lafrançois, Langlais, L'Italien, Lallemand, Breton, Normand, Picard. Others depicted local geography: Larivière (the river), Lamontagne (the mountain), Lavallée (the valley), Desruisseaux (the stream).

Others, still, flaunted flowery patronymics such as: Lafleur (the flower), Latulippe (the tulip), Laviolette (the violet), Lapalme (the palm), Larose (the rose), Laurier (the laurel). Carefree, rollicking, characters also received due consideration: Bonenfant (goodchild), Sanssouci (worryless), Sanschagrin (sorrowless).

All this, I hope, will illustrate, however poorly, the capital feature that, by the close of the Old Regime, a national trend of mind unquestionably existed.

Politically, and to a degree, intellectually, the Colonists were no longer French; shortly after they refused to become Americans; then, what else could they be but pre-eminently Canadians?

Moreover, this natural evolution is not a peculiar trait of French Canada. What about the thirteen British Colonies in New England, New York, Virginia, Pennsylvania and Maryland?

Did the Stamp Act, and its corollary reaction, the Boston Tea Party, suffice to transform otherwise contented communities into so many fighting units?

Numerous fiscal measures had preceded this particular impost, without provoking any popular flurry worthy of mention.

Early American history, when attentively perused, reveals a widening breach between Imperials and Colonials.

There, as here, similar facts necessarily brought about analogous results: American interests, an American mentality and will.

The New World's infancy was now over. A vigorous, youthful nation, the United States, had arisen who would, in the course of time, exert a certain influence over its Canadian neighbour.

One should not forget that, in 1776, French Canadians declined to merge their lot with the Americans, although royalist France lent the latter active aid. Due allowances made for loyalty, practical considerations signalled out the risk of combining 80,000 French speaking Canadians with over a million English speaking Americans. So my people chose to await the coming of yours, in lesser numbers, and definitely unite with them in the common undertaking of building up our own country.

From 1774 to 1867, the main public affair, the paramount political preoccupation in Quebec, consisted in obtaining for this colony a full measure of responsible government and the recognition of our treaty rights.

In the pursuit of constitutional rule, Upper and Lower Canadians more than once joined forces.

On a memorable occasion, 1937, an unwritten alliance associated your former Mayor, William Mackenzie with our Louis-Joseph Papineau. By the way, just fancy these fiery leaders were fighting against bureaucracy. Well, it's any man's guess whether or not they achieved final results.

I don't at all contend that the French-Canadians were alone confronted with hard problems and acute difficulties.

Settlers in the Maritimes, Ontario, Western Canada, also displayed grit and courage of the highest order. Your pioneer womenfolk and ours deserve an equally unstinted praise.

Yet, your collective or individual tasks were not hampered with the constant dread of having your community rights: language, faith and customs, infringed upon.

Fate had given us a stepmother, England; we gathered she would act as a lady toward us and as a mother toward you. We didn't harbour envy, but we had to be watchful.

So, French-Canadians set to work with a will. Step by step, year in and year out, the grinding job of moulding a nation was relentlessly prosecuted. With scanty material, a total lack of financial backing, no outside help, some thousand farmers, artisans, tradesmen and their descendants, shaped, in keeping with their needs and likings, a body politic, a type of society, which gave rise to present day Quebec.

Quebecers, of the past, had neither the means nor the leisure to travel, and outsiders who visited the Province were scarce indeed. As an instance of this, the first ship from France to sail up the St. Lawrence, since 1760, was the man-of-war *La Capricieuse,* who cast anchor off Quebec in July 1855.

My point is that no external attraction influenced in any real degree our social growth. If we delved into the past, we perceived a long vista of Canadian traditions; as for the present and future, our expectations, our hopes, were national in their inception and scope, and centred all on Canada.

Before proceeding further, allow me to say that I merely express my own opinions. I represent no group, clique nor faction and stand proxy for no one. I only am the captain of my soul and, at best, that's a one-man submarine. Addressing The Empire Club is a great honour for me and the most suitable manner of expressing my appreciation consists in putting before you certain impressions as honestly as I can.

Matters of public import should not be dallied with; furthermore you surely are above welcoming trite eyewash.

We plainly realize that numerous problems confront us; consequently, as practical men, a candid summing up of the questions at stake cannot fret our tempers nor cripple a generous intent of smoothing over obstacles in a spirit of justice and national unity.

Picking up the loose threads of this lecture, we shall hear a voice long since stilled, that of Sir Hippolyte Lafontaine, twice Premier of Canada, jointly with your own Baldwin. About 1857 or so, Lafontaine, definitely out of politics, penned the following sentence: "Le Canada est terre d'Amérique,"—"Canada is an American country." Eighty-seven years ago, a former Prime Minister thus summarized a situation which, to his practical acumen, manifested itself with a compelling force.

Are we to discern in this crisp statement a faint echo of the Monroe Doctrine, formulated in 1823? Such a view seems hardly tenable; Sir Hippolyte Lafontaine's analytical brain reached its own independent conclusions.

You grasp at once the obvious implications: Canada, a North American entity, must fall in line with the pulsating rhythm of her particular continent. In this pronouncement, you have the gist of Pan-American policy.

Since the last war, and more especially since the Statute of Westminster, Quebec public opinion, both among the younger and older generations, seems strongly inclined to look upon this maxim in the light of a political tenet.

Not only is Canada an American country but also a mature though expanding one. Her needs are manifold and continually invade new, costly, fields of social assistance unheard of thirty years ago.

We readily admit, down home, that contingencies arise which baffle human wisdom and frustrate man's foresight.

Of such occurrences we claim to have shouldered our share along with the remainder of the nation. Still, however binding these necessities may be, they don't prohibit us from visualizing some hard facts. In 1914, our total debt amounted to three hundred and thirty ($330,-000,000) million dollars; today, the nation's indebtedness is something like fifteen billions, and as you read, or rather read, on Johnnie Walker labels, "Still going strong".

So, in thirty years, our debt has been multiplied fifty times over, whilst the population passed from seven and a half millions to eleven and a half, a ratio of only fifty percent.

Such is the price of duty, will you say; even so, may we deem paying off that load a lesser, escapable, duty?

Jean-Baptiste is worried; that thrifty farmer would like to find out from what inexhaustible source the requisite funds will flow.

Quebecers, as I strove to show a moment ago, acknowledge Canada as their one and only Motherland. They are confident that, in due course of time, the entire country shall either share or, at least, fully understand this view.

Every day we are told this nation is an autonomous, sovereign one. If that is so, and we feel it should be so, then it seems logical to pattern our internal and external commitments in accordance with our requirements.

Our Government, whatever its political leanings may be, is primarily entrusted with the safeguarding of national welfare; therefore its decisions must be of untrammeled inspiration and should conform, in every respect, to the joint dictates of Canada's limitations and interests.

In their proud capacity of senior Canadians, my people sincerely believe they are useful to the country by keeping a wary eye on her international policy.

For clarity's sake, let me sum up our attitude on the matter, not in Mr. Bourassa's, or any Bloc Populaire leader's words, but in His Excellency Lord Tweedsmuir's polished style.

Addressing the Institute of International Affairs, on October 12, 1937, the Governor General said: "She (Canada) is a sovereign nation and cannot take her attitude to the world docilely from Britain, or from the United States, or from anybody else. A Canadian's first loyalty is not to the British Commonwealth of Nations, but to Canada, and those who deny this are doing, to my mind, a great dis-service to the Commonwealth. If the Commonwealth, in a crisis, is to speak with one voice it will only be because the component parts have thought out for themselves their own special problems, and made their contribution to the discussion, so that a true common factor of policy can be reached. A sovereign people must, as part of its sovereign duty, take up its own attitude to world problems."

To this statement we have not an iota to add nor have we an iota to detract from it. Never before, never since, was our opinion regarding this transcendent concern so aptly and generously worded.

And now, gentlemen, I have nearly reached the end of my allotted time. Before the sand glass lower cone is filled, I must needs remind you of the Senior Province's proved devotion to the cause of Canadian unity. This magnificent land, through God's decree, is our country and yours from Cape Breton Island to the furthest Pacfiic-bound speck of soil.

Regional life in Quebec, for imperious reasons, may be more intense than in the Sister Provinces; which sentiment does not in the least hinder our loyalty towards greater Canada from standing on a par level with any man's.

You are aware that in bygone ages, the world's noblest monuments, St. Denis in France, Westminster Abbey, and other repositories wherein the epics of nations shine eternally, were perfected not through mercenary toil, but mostly by the pious labours of the lowly, who thereby blended a portion of their drab, flitting existence with immortality.

Do we not, every one of us, owe a like duty to the country, to her physical and spiritual unity. Should we not willingly dedicate a portion of our energy to the eradication of whatever may be unsound in the land, and delay Canada's oneness of soul.

What with the merits my people may have, what with your great qualities, your practical soundness, virile outlook, generosity of mind, and that inimitable English trait, you possibly don't even suspect, a compelling inclination to lend assistance, nothing seems beyond attainment if we make proper use of these precious materials.

While on this closing topic, allow me to pay a well deserved tribute to the Honourable Howard Ferguson and Mitchell Hepburn who, in their endeavours for the just recognition of minority rights, truly were nation builders.

Nor would I, Mr. Chairman, resume my seat, without respectfully greeting the revered name of your illustrious centenarian, Sir William Mulock, Laurier's friend and confidant. To Sir William Mulock, it is my privilege to offer the affectionate regard of his former colleague, our own venerable ex-Senator Choquette, a young man of 90 years of age. Both these gentlemen sat in the House of Commons when none of us were yet sitting on our mothers' laps.

These statesmen and patriots' deeds are the compass pointing to Canadian Unity. Storms and gales may blow before the journey is over; even so, in a spirit of unshakable confidence, let us remember that storms and gales there are which serve to hasten a sturdy ship closer to port.

"A UNITED STATES POLICY FOR THE PACIFIC"

An Address By

HON. WILL. ROGERS, JR.,

MEMBER OF U.S. CONGRESS.

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eason Humphreys.

Thursday, April 6, 1194

Mr. Humphreys: The late, beloved Mr. Will Rogers, a philosopher of our time, used to say: "You know, Percy, everyone is ignorant, only on different subjects."

It is on that philosophy, gentlement, that The Empire Club has thrived for forty years.

Today, we do honour to Congressman Will Rogers, Jr., a member of the United States Foreign Affairs Committee, and distinguished son of the late Mr. Will Rogers.

Lieut. Rogers is Congressional Representative for the 16th Division of California, and although born in New York, he resided most of his life on the Pacific Coast, travelling the while through Europe, the Orient and Russia.

The Pacific has occupied a great deal of Mr. Rogers' attention, and so today he discusses with us: "A United States Policy for the Pacific"—a matter of much concern to a Pacific Ocean nation like Canada.

By profession, Will Rogers, Jr., is an editor and publisher, and he owns the largest weekly paper in the West, *The Beverly Hills Citizen.*

Congressman Rogers was graduated from Stamford University, where he distinguished himself in many ways. He captained the debate team there and also the polo team. He is, by the way, a four-goal player. He was also a national swimming champion (perhaps he still is).

Mr. Rogers entered the United States Army as a private in 1941, being promoted later to lieutenant in the Tank Destroyer Corps, but while in the army he was elected to Congress. By the way, I believe Mr. Rogers is distinguished as being the only politician elected to Congress without having made a single speech beforehand.

An hour ago, Mr. Rogers, you were accorded a civic welcome to the City of Toronto by His Worship, Mayor Conboy, and others. Now it is our pleasure to warmly welcome you to The Empire Club of Canada.

By the way, sir, the warmth of our welcome, if not climatic, is, nevertheless, spiritual and sincere. We wish our climate was like yours—a climate that inspired your revered father to say: "I never expected to see the girls sunburned where they are nowadays." Gentlemen: I have pleasure in introducing Congressman Will Rogers, Jr., who will now address us on "A United States Policy for the Pacific."

Mr. Rogers: I am more honoured than I can say at being invited to speak before The Empire Club of Canada. And I hate to admit it, but the other time I came to Canada was also to make a speech. That was almost ten years ago when I was a member of the debate team for Stamford University. We went to Vancouver to debate the University of British Columbia.

As your Chairman has said, my subject is, "A United States Policy for the Pacific." This is a subject important to Canada, for Canada joins the big three, Russia, England and the United States, in having vital interests in both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

Every day a new book comes out on what to do with Germany, or how to solve the problems of Europe. There is a great intellectual probing going on to find a solution for Europe. I see no such equal effort being directed to Pacific problems.

Yet, the point can be made, and I think sustained, that what we do in the Pacific after this war is far more important than what we do in Europe. In Europe, the peoples, the populations, the cultural traits, the psychological attitudes, are well frozen. They are set; they are solidified. In Europe, after the war, there will be more socialism or less, more nationalism or less, a boundary will be drawn here instead of there. There will be no great population increases; migrations of people will be numbered in the millions, not the hundreds of millions; scientific advances will continue, but it will not come as a great jolt, because Europe has been accustomed to over a hundred years of scientific advancement.

Asia, on the other hand, is about to take a great leap across the centuries, from medievalism to modernity. The whole character of Asia's people, their attitudes, their psychology, is about to change. Asia will be moving from the hand-loom into the age of plastics, without ever going through the conditioning experience of the early industrial revolution. As education and scientific knowledge spread, the Pacific peoples will be moving from rickshas to electronics.

Then too, there will be some startling population changes in the next twenty to forty years. The population of this planet is roughly two billion, of which one billion live in Asia, excluding Asiatic Russia. In the ten year period between 1940 and 1950, and including all the deaths from war, famine and flood, India will have added around 30 million to her population, and China will have added around 40 million.

Population curves in most European countries and in the United States and Canada have started to slowly level off. A higher percentage of the people are moving into the older age groups. As Prime Minister Churchill said in his last world-wide broadcast, England may be looking forward to a period of population decline.

But in Asia there is no such trend. In the last 60 years, the population of Asia has doubled. Even more important, the rate of increase has been going up each year. As proper medical care becomes more prevalent, and as the growing and distribution of food becomes more efficient, the rate of Asiatic increase may continue to rise for another generation or so. The only Asiatic nation that shows any indication of levelling off is Japan, and it will not be levelling off for another fifty years or so.

The changes in Europe after this war will be minute, compared to those in Asia and the Pacific. I am afraid that the Western Nations are not prepared, nor are they preparing for such tremendous changes as will occur. That is why what we do in the Pacific is so desperately important.

The Orient and the Pacific is still maleable. Its patterns and forms are still fluid. It is our actions, after this war, that will give the Orient the mold in which it will harden.

The Oriental Nations can grow to power and maturity in an attitude of fear and hate and racial tensions. They can come to believe that what they have achieved has been "won" from England and the United States, that their advance has been "wrested" from the Occident and is not a gift of the Occident.

On the other hand, a stable basis for international co-operation and trade between the Oriental and Occidental nations can be established. A stable peace in the Pacific can be established. It all depends on the post-war actions of the United Nations. Important as our post-war policy will be in Europe, I submit that it is even more important in the Pacific.

Now if we are going to discuss United States Policy in the Pacific, we must start with a few assumptions. First of all, we have to assume that the Japanese war will be won. That, I believe, is a safe assumption.

Then, we have to assume that the United States will participate in Pacific affairs, with sufficient energy and tenacity to carry out a policy. That assumption is not quite so sure. However, American isolationism is having to retreat before the clear fact that unless we do actively co-operate with the rest of the world, there can be no lasting peace. Our isolationism has mainly been directed at Europe. I think most Americans recognize the necessity for a vigorous participation in the Pacific.

Thirdly, we have to assume that co-operation between the four key powers: Russia, the United States, China, and England, is possible. That assumption is the most shaky of all. Some people say that the differences between a Soviet system and a capitalist system are so great that no co-operation between them is possible. I don't believe that. Some people say that the empires in the Pacific are so important to the home countries that the home countries cannot afford to stop exploiting them. I don't believe that. Some people say that American desires in the Pacific, and China's desires in the Pacific are so mutually antagonistic that they cannot be reconciled. I don't believe that.

I believe that while the United States' idea on the Pacific might differ from the Chinese, which may differ from the Russian, nevertheless co-operation is so obviously essential to peace, that these differing desires can be worked out. It will be difficult, but not impossible.

With this background then, this view of Asia as a great ferment, a great wild yeast, ready to startle the world with the rapidity and direction of its growth, and with these assumptions that a peace is possible, I suggest that a United States Foreign Policy in the Pacific should incorporate, among others, these five points:

The first point, and the most important, is that the United States and the United Nations should issue a declaration embodying the principle of equality of all races and peoples.

This does not mean any nation will have to change its immigration quotas. It does not interfere with the internal affairs, or sovereignty, of any nations at all. But it does mean that we announce that one of the aims, one of the goals, one of the ideals toward which we struggle is this principle of equality of races.

We in the United States say, and you here in Canada say, that you are working toward Democracy. We do not have a perfect democracy in the United States. We still have a poll-tax and other franchise restrictions. You in Canada do not have a perfect democracy either. But that does not mean that we drop the principle of working toward democracy. Democracy is an ideal difficult to achieve. The equality of all races is also an ideal, and, also difficult to achieve. But they are both well worth working toward.

This idea of a declaration on equality of races is nothing new. It is in the United States Constitution. It is in our Declaration of Independence. In principle, it is written in most of the laws of most of the Democracies of the world. It is implied in the doctrine of the Four Freedoms, for which we say we fight.

While there has not been as many books on Pacific Policy as there has been books on what to do with Germany and Europe after the war, there has, nevertheless, been a few. In reading some of them, and in reading magazine articles and pamphlets, I have noticed one startling thing.

If the magazine article, or book on Pacific Policy is written by a Chinese, or an Indian, or a Korean, or a Philippino, almost without exception, somewhere in that article you will find this question of issuing a declaration on racial equality. This whole matter was thoroughly discussed here in Canada, at the Institute of Pacific Relations Conference at Mont Tremblant in 1942. This is a most important matter and for harmony in the Pacific, such a declaration should have been issued long ago.

A similar declaration was proposed and refused in the peace treaty after the last war. In the last world war Japan was our ally. The one thing it worked for, at the Peace Conference at Versailles, was to have included in the Treaty of Versailles, 16 words recognizing the principle of the equality of races.

England, with American acquiescence if not support, refused to put those 16 words in. Japan, surging with newly discovered power and pride, was intellectually slapped down, and at a time when such an intellectual slap would sting most.

It is no wonder that twenty-four years later, when the Japanese took the surrender of Hong Kong from the British commander, they made it as humiliating as possible, and quite pointedly held the final formal surrender in the Grand Ballroom of the Peninsular Hotel into which no Oriental had previously been permitted to set foot.

Right here, I think it is appropriate to tell a little story. I came up on the overnight train from Washington. This train crossed into Canada at Buffalo in the early hours of the morning. I don't know when, for I was asleep. No one bothered me, everything went smoothly.

But some three or four months ago, an American woman of Chinese ancestry, was travelling on a similar train. She was going from New York to Detroit and she just happened to take one of those trains which travel part of the way in Canada, instead of all the way in the United States.

When this young lady got to Buffalo in the early hours of the morning, she was awakened in her berth and told by a Canadian Immigration Officer that she would have to get off the train as no Chinese (who, incidentally are our allies) were allowed to travel across Canada. The young lady presented her documents showing that she was a native born American citizen, but the inspector said that even so she was still Chinese and had to get off.

So she got dressed and got off the train with her luggage, and had to wait half a day at the station for another train which travelled totally within the United States. I submit, gentlement, that if we are to have peace in the world, such an attitude cannot continue. Such an attitude is completely unnecessary. On this same trip some eight months ago, I also visited Phoenix, Arizona. I went into the cocktail bar of the city's largest and finest hotel. The place was jam-packed, and a good three-fourths of the people there were young Chinese aviation cadets. Nice looking young men, neatly dressed in their snappy uniforms. Hundreds of them have been trained at nearby Thunderbird Field and they get along just fine. It is the attitude of Thunderbird Field, even more than the men they train, that will bring peace to the Pacific.

The United Nations have issued enough high sounding phrases, and the United States is always exchanging platitudes and compliments with other countries. I do not see why a statement embodying the principle of the equality of all races could not be issued. Race tensions do exist, but if we are to have a stable world order, we must work to diminish them.

The second point, which I submit for a foreign policy, is that the United States should work for a strong, unified China.

I want that to be our base policy in Asia: to restore to China its ancient position as the unquestioned leader in its part of the world. That necessitates a change in both Britain's and America's past policy. For previously, neither country has spent too much effort in helping China become strong. This idea of a dominant China will meet with considerable opposition both in the United States and in the United Kingdom. Many people are afraid of a strong China.

In general they are the people who want us to maintain a "balance of power" in the Pacific. Their theory is that we should maintain a fairly strong Japan to balance against the growing strength of China. The two countries would oppose each other, tend to neutralize each other, and thus make the United States more secure.

In my opinion, such a policy would be disastrous. It would lead to insecurity, conflict and war. By trying to use Japan as a lever against China, or China as a lever against Japan, we will only gain the enmity of both. I am not in sympathy with the old fashioned predatory American industrialist who wants to keep China weak for exploitive purposes. Nor do I fear a strong China as an economic competitor of the United States. A strong China is an economic asset to the United States. Half a billion paupers are no good as customers. But half a billion people starting to use radios and transparent plastic tooth-brushes, become a possibility for trade and material advancement.

I want the alliance between the United States and China in the Pacific to be as complete and unquestioned as the alliance between the United States and England in the Atlantic. In the Atlantic, England the United States stand or fall together. The world knows it. The world knows we are not going to fight each other. This has been one of the greatest assets the United States has had. Only now, I feel, we are in the United States and perhaps you in Canada, starting to realize the great debt both our countries have owed to the British Navy for the last 100 years. If the world understands that China and the United States will stand or fall together, and will not fight each other, then we have a stable basis for a lasting Pacific peace.

This naturally leads us to the question of Russia, for there can be no stable Pacific order unless the United States and Russia can come to some agreement, not necessarily written, but roughly understood by both parties, concerning the future of China and the future of Japan.

It was only a few years ago that Russia was supporting the Communist armies, and we were supporting Chiang Kai-Shek. These two factions were fighting each other with the arms our two countries were supplying them. That is the sort of thing which the two countries should not start again after this war. And that is going to be the sort of thing most difficult to avoid.

China is arriving on the industrial scene without a set pattern of capitalism or socialism. China today has elements of both, and elements that are purely Oriental. It is going to be difficult enough for china to evolve her own economic and political system. If we start supporting one faction in China and Russia starts supporting another, China will never be able to achieve unity.

Even should the United States, England and Russia have a "hands-off" policy towards the internal structure of China, it is going to be most difficult for China to rapidly become a stable country. Some shrewd observers feel that even with the best international good-will, China will face a period of four or five years of bloody civil war.

These observers point out that China needs great agrarian, industrial and social reforms. The old economy, where wealth drained off into Shanghai and the coast cities, and where the provinces were periodically swept by famine and flood, will no longer satisfy the people.

One of the reasons these observers predict civil war in China is because so far, the Kuomintang, the party of Chiang Kai-Shek, has not made the distinction between those who are its enemies and those who are simply its opposition.

It is my hope however that the governmental base of China can be widened. A nation of 500 million cannot forever be ruled by a few families. The conflicts in China are great, but the pressure for unity is greater. I feel that a few years after this war, China will emerge on some unified path. When it does, it will show a rapidity of growth that will startle the world. I want the United States to be closely allied with this coming giant.

To implement this policy of a strong China, I have a few suggestions: When we land on the mainland of Japan, Chinese units should be in all the landings. When the United Nations parade in Tokio, Chinese units should be in the first place of honour. The Chinese should participate in the invasion and policing of Japan as much as possible, because this war must not have any connotation of a race, or conquering white man's war. It must be shown to Japan that this is a United Nation's victory.

In the atrocity courts, which I hope will be set up in Japan, there should be Chinese judges. And in the re-education process which I hope will begin in Japan, Chinese should be in the highest positions.

The Japanese Navy—or what is left of it (if anything)—should go to China. Japanese armament factories should be dismantled and sent to China. The Japanese merchant fleet—or what (if any) is left of it—should be transferred to Chinese registry and ownership. That is in line with the third point.

The third point I suggest for an American policy in the Pacific is a weak Japan.

My attitude is best summed up by the remarks of a radio commentator. He was asked what to do about keeping down post-war Japan. The answer was, "Well, I haven't heard very much news from Carthage lately."

I want our Pacific Policy to be crystal clear: strong China, weak Japan. In proposing this, I am following the doctrines laid down over 500 years ago by Niccolo Machiavelli. If anyone wants to know how to treat Germany or Japan, I commend a reading, or a re-reading of Machiavelli's *Discourses* and *The Prince*.

In the treatment of enemies, Machiavelli states, "This is the way the Romans took in the settlement of Latium, which ought to be observed and imitated by all wise Princes and States. They gave sentence town by town, according to the nature of their deserts; but in all extremes, without any mediocrity; for some they not only pardoned, but loaded them with benefits, made them free of their own city, and gave them many other privileges, and exemptions, and thereby secured them not only from rebelling, but from ever conspiring again. The rest whom they thought fit to make examples, were brought prisoners to Rome, punished with all kind of severity, their houses destroyed, their lands confiscated, their persons dispersed, so as it was not possible for them any way to do any mischief for the future. . . . .

"And things being so, we conclude, according to our proposition in the beginning of our discourse: That upon any great sentence to be given against a people or city that has been formerly free, the surest way is, to waive all moderation, and either to caress or extinguish them. . . . It will be expedient, therefore, whilst they are in amazement in suspense, to settle their minds one way, either by punishment or pardon."

To keep Japan from becoming a military menace in the Pacific, is not going to be as difficult as some people think. Here is what I think is a very sensible suggestion. It is simple and direct. For fifteen years, but Japan on probation. During that period, Japan will not be allowed to have any merchant marine. Japan may maintain some small fishing boats and a few inter-island steamers of small tonnage. But that is all. Japan can neither build, own, nor man, any merchant freighter or passenger ship. For fifteen years, the only way a Japanese can go to sea is as a passenger on someone else's boat.

The elimination of Japan as a maritime power will not bring about the hardships that most people suppose. Japan is almost self-supporting. She imports only ten to twelve per cent of her food, and most of that is Korean rice. Japan, if she put the energy and technique which she has squandered in making armaments, into the production of foodstuffs, could be self-sufficient.

The startling fact of Japanese economy, and the thing which has made Japan appear so subservient to foreign trade, is that the ruling class of Japan has never made any effort to develop the home market. They kept the standard of living incredibly low so that they could export goods, and in turn buy machine tools, oil, and scrap iron. Once the Japanese economy is freed of the burden of armaments, Japan can become self sufficient and with a higher standard of living than she has enjoyed during the war. I think we can be quite ruthless with the shipping, armament factories, and foreign trade of Japan, because I believe that they have not helped raise the standard of the Japanese people, but only the standard of Japanese armaments.

Taking away all her ships, does not mean that we withdraw and leave Japan to her own internal devices. By no means. We must set Japan on the path towards Democracy and international co-operation. This brings up the question of the Emperor.

The Japanese Emperor is unique among the dictators against which we fight, in that he represents a continuity with the past. He does not stand for a repudiation of the previous regimes. He is also unique in being a spiritual leader, and the head of his nation's organized religion. He is a god, the head of an organized religious structure that is an essential part of the national structure.

Because of this, some Far East experts want the United Nations to retain the Japanese Emperor as a puppet, after we have captured the country. They say that the Emperor's role is traditionally that of a puppet; when big business ruled Japan, the Emperor was a puppet to big business; when the military took over, he became a puppet to the military; and when we take over, there is no reason why he should not be a puppet of ours.

At first this sounds like a good idea. But it is not. I am becoming convinced that we cannot deal with the Japanese within the frame-work of their fairy-land ways of thought. It is rather like trying to re-educate Germany with the structure of the Nazi ideology. You are not getting anywhere if you try to confute an absurdity within the confines of an absurdity.

We should treat the Emperor precisely as we would treat any other responsible leader of a cruel people. His palace should be bombed, and when we catch him, he should be publicly tried—preferably before Korean, Chinese, and Philippino judges.

It might be the best thing for the world and for Japan, if the Japanese got the intellectual shock of their life out of this war. We can't afford to have a nation of 80 million people, strategically located and technically sinfull still believing in an Emperor as God. The best way to get rid of that nonsense is for him to stand public trial and to be judged by the so-called "inferior" people he tried to enslave.

Another absurdity which we should eliminate in this process of education by the introduction of cold reality, is this idea that no Japanese ever surrenders or is ever taken prisoner of war. That is a legend perpetrated by generals to keep generals in power. We should put some effort into the elimination of that legend.

I suggest that when the Japanese surrender, as they will, we take every man remaining alive in their army and navy and make him a prisoner of war. This is especially important in the case of all the officers. We can release the men after a week or so—the officers we should hold for atrocity trials and release, but slowly. In any case, we must make crystal clear to all Japan that they *did* surrender and that indeed, the whole Japanese army and navy was a prisoner of war of the United Nations.

One last suggestion in the treatment of Japan. The political police must be abolished. They should be tried for the atrocities they have committed on their own people. Tens of thousands of Japanese are in concentration camps. Japan is honeycombed with the so-called "thought police" who ferret out "dangerous thoughts". This Oriental gestapo should be eliminated as ruthlessly as the German gestapo. If we do this, we shall certainly gain good-will from the common people of Japan, who have suffered at their hands.

The fourth suggestion is one I hesitate to advance, in speaking before The Empire Club of Canada. It is that when quarrels arise between the Imperial Powers and their colonies in the Pacific, the United States should not take the side of the Imperial Powers.

Asia will be in a great ferment after this war. Peoples who heretofore were content to stand aside in docility, from now on will start demanding participation in business and government. The situation will lend itself to all sorts of demagogic leaders. All the ancient errors of colonial administration will be pointed out and the corrections made by the newly returning colonial administrators will be howled at as insufficient and insincere.

Colonial problems of the Pacific are innumerable and complex. We may rest assured that the Japanese with their cry of "Asia for the Asiatics" will not have made the lot of the returning colonial administrators any easier. While each Colonial Power, and each colony controlled by the Colonial Power presents difficult problems, a few general things can be pointed out.

One of them is that in the Pacific we can now look for the start of nationalism—a disease which heretofore has not plagued that area. Another is that the Colonial Powers are going to find it increasingly difficult to maintain a foothold on the continental mainland of Asia. Those colonies which are on the mainland: India, Burma, the Malay States, and French Indo-China, are precisely those in which there has been, and probably will continue to be, the most trouble.

A third general statement is that of all the colonial questions affecting the Pacific, that of India is the most important—even though India is not on the Pacific itself. The solution, or lack of a solution to the Indian problem, will have a profound effect on China, indeed all over Asia.

There is not time to discuss the problems of specific colonies. Almost each one is a separate case and will require separate handling. In the Pacific, because of its rising nationalism, and because of the upheavals created by Japan, few, if any, of the colonies are going to be satisfied with the old status quo.

On the other hand, there is no visible indication that the Imperial Powers intend to soon release any of their colonies. Unless some unforseen correction is applied, I think colonial troubles in the Pacific are inevitable. They will start as soon as the United Nations begin retaking heavily populated areas, and they will continue for years.

During these agitations and in these conflicts, I do not want the United States to ever take the part of the Colonial Power. The United States has to live in the Pacific and none of the other Colonial Powers do. We have an excellent reputation. I do not want us to spoil it. It is far more important to the future of the United States to have the good-will of the peoples of the Pacific than it is to have the good-will of the Empires in the Pacific.

My fifth suggestion is brief. Hawaii should become a State of the Union—our 49th State, and the United States should take over the Japanese Mandated Islands, and the Bonin Islands.

For a long time, there has been agitation in Hawaii for Statehood. Some people objected on the grounds of the large number of Japanese in Hawaii. Out of a total population of 423,000, there are 103,000 Caucasians, 157,000 Japanese. The native born Japanese on Hawaii have proved their Americanism in this war. The F.B.I. reports that there has not been one single act of sabotage committed by a native-born Japanese. The American method of Democratic indoctrination works. Today, thousands of Japanese are fighting and dying for the United States. The people of Hawaii, of all races, have certainly earned statehood. They should become an integral part of our Union.

I believe most everyone is agreed that the United States should take over the Japanese Mandated Islands. I think Australia and New Zealand would welcome the United States into the Japanese mandated group because what they want is security which the United States could give them.

If we take over those islands and the Bonin Islands, and the Chinese take over Formosa and Riu Kiu group of islands, as is guaranteed to them by the Cairo Conference, and if the Russians should take over all of the Shakhalin and some of the northern Kurile Islands, Japan will be left pretty well defenseless—and at the same time, we shall be removing practically none of her economic assets.

When we take over the Mandated and Bonin Islands, we must make their political position absolutely clear. The native population of the Mandated Islands is roughly 120,000; that of the Bonin Islands 5,000. The Japanese on those islands should be returned to Japan. The natives should become United States citizens, with full rights, the same as the citizens of Puerto Rico. It should be announced that these islands are not colonies. The United States should never take over a colony. These islands are bases. They should be under naval administration, the same as Guam was before the war.

Those are my suggestions of some of the points that a United States policy in the Pacific should embrace. I have purposely avoided all questions dealing with the setting up of international organizations in the Pacific or elsewhere. Questions of that intricacy require a great deal of time to discuss and develop.

On these intricate questions, there are two major schools of thought. There are those who favor a regional federation, the type of Pacific organization hinted at in the recent Australia-New Zealand agreement, and there are those who favour an over-all Pacific organization.

Closely connected with all this is the question of the international regulation of key air-bases in the Pacific. Certain islands, notably Hawaii, New Caledonia, and some of the Mariana Island group must be open to the planes of all nations if there is to be much trans-Pacific air travel.

But while these are important questions, and certainly the international organization, if any, is important, I don't think we should forget that most important will be the future direction and development of Russia and China. In looking at the Pacific, Americans are too much inclined to look at the atolls and the oceans. It is not on the atolls, it is on the mainland of Asia that the future of the Pacific will be determined.

We—that is the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, all of South America—we who front on the Pacific, will have a fearful responsibility after this war. We must give indication to the newly developing peoples of Asia that we genuinely want to co-operate with them. We must work to relieve racial tensions, we must refrain from playing Oriental politics by pushing one nation against another, we must work to relieve colonial tensions, and we must attempt some over-all scheme of security.

In the Pacific, the age of domination is gone, and the time for co-operation is here. I am afraid that if in the next twenty years we do not set up a friendly Pacific basin, we shall not have another chance to do so for a long time to come.

"THE I.L.O. LOOKS FORWARD"

AN ADDRESS BY

C. WILFRED JENKS, ESQ.

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eason Humphreys.

Thursday, April 13, 1944

MR. HUMPHREYS: The International Labour Organization was brought into being by the Treaty of Versailles after the last war. Labour in all the victor countries had played an all-important part in the winning of the victory, and was insistent that its demand for better working conditions and more social security should be heeded.

It was, accordingly, agreed to set up along the new political world parliament (the League of Nations Assembly and Council) a new World Industrial Parliament, the International Labour Conference.

Some idea of the work accomplished by I.L.O. since 1919 is indicated by the fact that there have been some 882 ratifications of International Labour Conventions covering the whole range of industrial questions.

I may add that the organization includes a staff of some 450 persons (the International Labour Office), who constitute an international civil service especially qualified for the scientific study of labour questions on an international basis.

It is not too much to say that the work done by the office is of unique value in the present-day world.

After the last war, the International Labour Organization played an all-important part in the way of building a bridge between war and peace, and in providing the machinery for calm and objective discussion of questions which might otherwise have led to disturbed post-war conditions.

Mr. C. Wilfred Jenks, our guest, discusses the International Labour Organization in an address he calls: "The I.L.O. Looks Forward".

Mr. Jenks, a member of the English Bar, a former President of the Cambridge Union Society, went from Cambridge to Geneva as Assistant Legal Adviser of the I.L.O. office and he first visited Canada in 1936. Four years ago, the I.L.O. Headquarters were transferred from Geneva to Montreal.

As legal adviser to the International Labour Office, Mr. C. Wilfred Jenks speaks with authority.

What he will have to say will lend interest to the forthcoming 26th Conference in Philadelphia, where important decisions will be taken in respect of labour and the post-war programme. Gentlemen: Mr. C. Wilfred Jenks, who will speak to us on the subject, "The I.L.O. Looks Forward."

MR. JENKS: We have received of late from our leading statesmen innumerable warnings that this war has not yet been won; that Germany still remains astride the Continent of Europe and that Japan still holds sway over the rich prizes of the Indies and of the China coasts; that blood, sweat and tears must continue to be our lot through further months of struggle which may still lengthen into years; and that many disappointments will beset us before we finally succeed in re-establishing the decencies of civilized living throughout the world.

In these circumstances, some may think it premature for the International Labour Organization to have convened to meet next week in Philadelphia a world conference representative of governments, employers and workers, whose function it will be to begin to lay the social foundations for the coming peace. That is not the view of the governments of the principal United Nations at whose instance the Conference has been called. Nor is it a view which can withstand serious analysis. Statesmanship is essentially the art of making adequate provision for the day after tomorrow. We have now reached a stage of the war at which, although victory has not yet been won, we can no longer afford to delay the preparation of detailed plans for the action which must be taken immediately victory has been won.

The challenge which will then confront us will be as matchless as that of global and total war and will require an effort no less tense and arduous.

Glance round the world at the responsibilities and dilemmas which lie before us. Europe has been plunged into a barbarism which she has not known since the days of Attila the Hun. Her political institutions lie in ruins; the foundations of her economic prosperity have been destroyed; weakened by hunger and despair, threatened by disease, depopulated by Nazi policy, Europe is being bombed to bits. The rehabilitation and reconstruction of Europe is essential to the future prosperity and progress of the whole world and presents a challenge unprecedented in Europe's age-long and momentous history.

Equally without precedent is the challenge presented by the current problems and aspirations of Asia. The peoples of Asia, a thousand million strong, have been stirred to the depths of their being; their national consciousness has been aroused as never in the past; their industrialization is proceeding apace. They also have suffered much and will suffer more before victory is won. The future course of their development may well determine whether peace and prosperity for the whole world on the basis of rising standards everywhere or a future war of continents and races embittered by fantastic contrasts in living standards is to be the lot of the next generation.

In Latin America, in Africa and in the islands of the Pacific similar forces are at work. And here on the North American continent the termination of hostilities will precipitate problems of economic readjustment of the greatest magnitude and difficulty. Clearly we are approaching one of the grand climacterics of history.

The Conference which is to convene in Philadelphia next week to consider these grave issues in a world perspective is the Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference. The International Labour Conference is a world parliament for social questions, consisting of national delegations from each of the members of the International Labour Organization, commonly called the I.L.O. The I.L.O. is an association of nations, financed by governments and democratically controlled by representatives of governments, of management and of labour through a governing body, on which the Canadian Government is represented as of right as the government of one of the eight states of the world which are of the chief industrial importance, and on which representatives of Canadian management and labour sit by virtue of election by their colleagues in the International Labour Conference. The national delegations to the International Labour Conference, which normally meets every year, comprise four delegates, two representing the government, one representing management and one representing labour, ad each of these delegates may be accompanied by advisers. The decisions of the International Labour Conference are not binding upon the members of the organization, but governments are under an oblization under the constitution of the organization to submit these decisions for consideration to their national legislatures. During the last quarter of a century the Conference has adopted 67 conventions or labour treaties, and 66 recommendations, which constitute an international labour code which has been for two decades one of the main formative influences upon the development of social legislation in many countries. During the war the Conference has not been able to hold regular sessions, but a large part of the work of the I.L.O. has been continued by the International Labour Office from its emergency headquarters in Montreal. Now the stage has been reached at which the world parliament of social policy can again be called into session to make plans for the future.

One of the primary duties of the Conference will be to consider how the I.L.O. can be most effectively equipped to discharge its future responsibilities. Even a highly successful international organization naturally requires a thorough overhaul when, after outriding the storms of recent years, it confronts the tasks and perils of the unknown future.

I will not weary you with an account of the detailed proposals for enhancing the effectiveness of the International Labour Organization which will come before the Conference, though some of them open up possibilities to fire the dullest imagination.

The general rôle which the I.L.O. is expected to play in the years ahead is sketched out in a proposed general declaration of its aims and purposes two features of which I should like to single out for special comment.

The proposed declaration envisages that the I.L.O. should act as the social conscience of the complex of world institution which the United Nations are endeavouring to create. Out of the maelstrom of discussion and debate on war and peace aims which has been so marked a feature of this war there has emerged a substantial measure of common agreement regarding objectives among statesmen of opposing parties and conflicting views in a wide range of countries. Full employment at fair pay, better nutrition, better housing, better medical services, fuller equality of educational opportunity, adequate family allowances, more ample provision for old age, disability, and widows and orphans, proper recreational facilities for all classes in the community and especially for the young, higher standards of health, safety, welfare and leisure in industry, more assured prosperity and a higher level of amenities in agriculture—these are the things that a growing body of opinion in every country, and in every political party, regards as an essential part of the civilized standard of life which every citizen is entitled to expect the community to make it reasonably possible for him to attain. These are the social claims which the common man, whose conception of the possible has been vastly enlarged by two world wars, now expects the economic system to satisfy. The problem of post-war economic reconstruction is that of determining how these social claims are to be met.

In view of this situation the proposed declaration affirms that it is a responsibility of the I.L.O. to act as the social conscience of the world by scrutinizing all international economic and financial measures in the light of these fundamental social objectives. Policies as far-reaching as will be required to deal with problems of readjustment on the scale of those arising from the war cannot be effectively implemented by governmental action over substantial periods unless there is a widespread conviction on the part of workers and employers that the policies being pursued are wise and just. This conviction will exist only if high economic policy and strategy is formulated with due regard to the views of responsible representatives of workers and employers and is regularly interpreted to, and exposed to criticism by, such responsible representatives as the process of formulating its proceeds. It will quickly be dissipated unless the social objectives which have been formulated in general terms are given a precision which inspires confidence in both the sincerity with which they have been advocated and the practicability of the methods whereby it is proposed to attain them. The world is weary of vague pledges of new orders. Rightly and properly the public demand today is for concrete plans for human betterment. By scrutinizing economic and financial policies as they develop the I.L.O. can add its weight to the endeavour to ensure that the policies adopted by Governments deserve the public support without which they cannot be made effective over long periods, and that policies deserving such support do not fail to receive it through any inadequate explanation of their origins and purpose to organized labour and organized management.

The proposed declaration puts in the forefront of the immediate objectives of social and economic policy the maintenance of full employment. During two world wars the highly industrialized States have achieved full employment as a means of maximizing their armed strength.

These supreme efforts called forth by crises of national survival have not been matched by any continuity of policy designed to remove the occasion for such efforts. Throughout the inter-war period unemployment was the major social curse of the highly industrialized States. In January 1933, the date of the assumption of power by the Nazi régime in Germany, the volume of unemployment in that country exceeded six million persons. In that figure is to be found part of the explanation for the history of the succeeding years. The employment problem which will arise on the morrow of the war will be on a scale far exceeding any with which we were familiar during the inter-war period, and for some years after the end of the war the reobsorption into civilian pursuits of the vast majority of the millions of men and women serving in the armed forces or engaged in war production will constitute the major task of economic statesmanship. Society will insist on the provision for these men and women of work of social value which will enable them to earn a living for themselves and their dependants and to make a useful contribution to the life of the community. The days in which the State could consider that its duties were discharged if it provided some minimum income for the unemployed through insurance or otherwise have gone forever. The right to subsist, the right not to die of starvation, can no longer be regarded as exhausting the claims of the individual upon the modern state. Men and women will no longer tolerate a organization of society under which those who are willing and anxious to work are obliged to forfeit their self-respect by remaining idle through the critical years during which we must rebuild our shattered civilization. No political or economic system which fails to solve the problem of full employment will be acceptable to a world which has learned the potentialities of governmental action during two world wars. The hardy virtues of work, thrift and self-reliance have lost nothing of their old importance, but in the complex industrialized societies of modern times they are utterly inadequate to ensure reasonable opportunities for the individual or the maintenance of decent standards of well-being throughout society. The expression "the right to work" is no doubt an over-simplification of the problems involved, but it states in simple and forceful terms the most elementary of the social claims which modern society is called upon to meet.

The economic measures, international and national, which will be necessary to achieve full employment are set out in another set of proposals which represent the first over-all picture laid before any official international conference of plans for that fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field which was pledged by the Atlantic Charter as a means of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security. None of these proposals are new. All of them relate to matters which governments already have under consideration and some of them to matters in respect of which considerable progress has already been made. But they are now to receive consideration as a coherent whole with the full participation of representatives of management and labour whose support will be essential to make them practically effective.

The successful handling of the long-range problems of international economic reconstruction will depend in large measure on the success achieved in affording prompt relief to war-stricken peoples, repatriating prisoners and exiles, and organizing the resumption of agriculture and industrial production in the devastated and looted liberated countries. This most urgent and critical task has been entrusted to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, with which the I.L.O. has already established close relations of mutual co-operation, and the International Labour Conference will therefore be invited to endorse the action taken and to throw its weight behind the relief and rehabilitation programme.

Equally vital to the success of any long-term programme will be the maintenance while post-war shortages of essential commodities and transport facilities continue of international arrangements to ensure a fair allocation of available supplies and to prevent excessive price movements. The Conference will therefore have before it a recommendation that the governments of the United Nations concerned should arrange to continue in operation the existing machinery of international control as long as serious shortages persist and should enlarge the membership of bodies such as the Combined Boards in order to make them more representative in character.

Taking as a foundation the need for relief and rehabilitation measures and the importance of retaining controls while essential goods and transport remain in short supply, the proposals being laid before the Conference proceed to outline a long-term programme of international economic reconstruction which I propose to summarize briefly in the form of eight points:

(1) The proposals welcome the action being taken to establish a Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations to promote international co-operation to raise levels of nutrition and to improve the efficiency of agricultural production and distribution.

(2) The proposals underline the need for effective international machinery for maintaining stability in rates of exchange, and urge that the governments of the United Nations should require the authorities responsible for operating such machinery to have regard in framing and applying their policies to the effect of their decisions on employment and living standards.

(3) The proposals envisage an international development bank to promote the movement of capital needed for reconstruction, development and the raising of living standards in many countries, and urge that the promotion of full employment and higher living standards should be regarded as a primary objective of such a bank and that the terms of all contracts for development works financed by the bank should include provisions regarding the welfare and working conditions of the labour employed.

(4) The proposals contemplate the establishment by the United Nations of machinery to facilitate the co-ordination of the commercial policies of all countries for

the purpose of promoting a steady expansion in world trade on a multilateral basis.

(5) The proposals call for concerted action by the United Nations to ensure more stable and adequate incomes to primary producers and to afford protection against violent swings in supply or demand such as so often demoralized the commodity markets during the inter-war period. They underline that international arrangements for this purpose should provide for adequate representation of consumers and for the assurance to the labour employed of fair remuneration, satisfactory working conditions, and adequate social security protection.

(2) The proposals recommend that the United Nations should institute international arrangements for the development, conservation and equitable distribution of the world's oil resources in the interest of all peoples.

(7) The proposals suggest that the United Nations should initiate measures to facilitate, by the provision of necessary technical and financial assistance, regulated migration of labour and settlers under adequate guarantees for all concerned.

(8) The proposals note the marked differences of opinion which exist with regard to the advantages and disadvantages of international cartels concerning such matters as patent rights, the control of production and the allocation of markets, but they urge that the full searchlight of publicity shall be directed on the existence and operation of such cartels and that the United Nations should, as a first step in this direction, initiate arrangements for the registration of all cartel agreements.

This programme of international economic measures is accompanied by a programme of national economic measures. It is primarily through national policies that international economic measures are made effective, and unless national policies are systematically directed towards the attainment of the social objectives which the United Nations have set before them no international action will suffice to translate these objectives into concrete achievement expressed in the well-being of individual human lives.

The programme of national economic measures placed before the Conference strikes the keynote which should set the tone of all our economic thinking: that national economic policies should be directed consistently towards the attainment of full employment, social security and rising standards of living. It thus stems from the fundamental philosophy that the solution for the maladjustments which produced the recurrent unemployment of the inter-war period lies in the expansion of consumption and not in the restriction of production. The programme emphasizes the importance for this purpose of making plans immediately for the rapid and orderly conversion of the various national economies from wartime to peacetime requirements, including plans for the payment to contractors as soon as possible of the sums due to them to re-equip their plants for peacetime production. In view of the danger that shortages of supply coupled with the volume of pent-up demand may lead to a post-war price inflation followed by collapse and widespread unemployment, the programme recommends that Governments shall, so long as shortages exist, maintain such price and exchange controls, rationing, and other financial and economic controls, as may be necessary to prevent inflation, and that they should avoid such precipitate reductions in taxation as might lead to inflation. As long-range policies the programme recommends measures to encourage enterprise and technological progress and to facilitate the development of industries in which there is an expanding demand; measures to encourage the transfer of productive resources from declining to expanding industries by affording credit and technical advice to employers and facilities for training and retraining to workers; measures to maintain the volume of demand for consumers' goods by such methods as an adequate income security system; and measures to ensure the productive investment of all savings by arrangements for the organization and financing of public investments in such a way as to maintain stability in total investment at a level adequate to ensure full employment.

Plans for long-term economic reconstruction, vital as they are, will however be valueless unless certain political conditions are fulfilled. Economic prosperity and social justice cannot be assured in a world where political strains involve a standing menace of war. The Constitution of the International Labour Organization rightly affirms that lasting peace "can be established only if it is based upon social justice". It is equally true that without political security, based on the harnessing of power as the servant of welfare it will be impossible to pursue effectively long-range policies directed towards the maintenance of full employment and a rising standard of living.

The task of creating political security, and of building up an effective world organization against aggression, will be made infinitely more difficult if we do not succeed in creating for the first time a firm foundation for the development of democratic traditions in Germany and Italy and Japan. In the development of such traditions democratic trade unionism can play an important part, and the Philadelphia Conference will accordingly be called upon to consider how sound trade unionism can be rebuilt as Axis territories are occupied and the principles on which social policy and administration in occupied Axis territories should be based.

The recommendations on this subject which will be laid before the Conference constitute an essential part of a broad programme for the suppression of Nazi-Fascism in all its forms. In the Moscow Declaration regarding Italy the Foreign Secretaries of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union proclaimed "that allied policy towards Italy must be based upon the fundamental principle that fascism and all its evil influence and emanations shall be utterly destroyed". The forthcoming International Labour Conference will have before it detailed proposals for giving effect to this principle in the field of labour policy. These proposals envisage that the German Labour Front and any other occupational associations constituted on a totalitarian basis will be immediately liquidated; that persons conspicuously and actively identified with the totalitarian régime will be eliminated from all administrative posts; that all discrimination in the field of social and economic legislation and administration on grounds of race or religion will be immediately abolished; and that any legislation or regulations incompatible with freedom of association and its effective exercise will immediately be declared invalid. On these lines alone can the necessary foundations be laid for winning back the peoples of the Axis countries to a civilized way of life. Though the objective must be the establishment of democratic control of social policy in the countries concerned, there will necessarily be a period which may be long or short according to the country and the circumstances, during which the occupying authorities will have to be prepared to assume the major share of the administrative responsibility for social policy and to play a leading rôle in fostering the growth of democratic forces. The proposals therefore provide for the appointment in each occupied Axis territory of a United Nations Labour Commissioner who, with the assistance of a qualified staff, should be responsible for the administration of social and labour laws and regulations. They also contemplate the appointment in each territory of an Advisory Board including representatives of the workers of the territory and outsiders with experience of trade union organization. One of the principal responsibilities to be placed upon the United Nations Labour Commissioner is that of giving every reasonable facility and encouragement to the reconstitution of free organizations for the promotion of the occupational and economic interests of the workers. The Advisory Board, which will be his natural link with the workers of the territory, should be a particularly valuable instrument for this purpose. The United Nations Labour Commissioner would also be responsible for ensuring the continued operation of administrative services such as employment services and social insurance institutions; for eradicating totalitarian influences from institutions for the civic and vocational training of young workers and for the organization of their recreation and spare time pursuits; for promoting the restoration of collective bargaining, in place of totalitarian dictatorship, as the normal basis for the determination of conditions of employment; for making adequate arrangements for the settlement of industrial disputes; and for securing the fullest possible co-operation between the workers' organizations and the authorities responsible for rehousing, urban reconstruction, and the restoration of essential public services. One important responsibility of the United Nations Labour Commissioner would be to co-operate with the authorities responsible for the employment and repatriation of displaced foreign workers, the demobilization of the forces of the Axis country concerned, and the conversion of industry from war to peace production, with a view to timing and co-ordinating these operations in such a manner as to avoid or reduce to a minimum large-scale unemployment. At this point some may be inclined to ask why we should be concerned with the avoidance of large-scale unemployment in defeated Axis countries at a time when we ourselves, and our gallant allies of liberated Europe, will be confronted with problems of employment readjustment on an unprecedented scale. The answer is a simple one: because our own self-interest, our own freedom, security and welfare, demand that we should. Peace and good government in the world at large cannot be achieved if a power so heavily industrialized that it has been able to hold the world at bay becomes a plague spot of unemployment from which further economic and social disorders will inevitably spread to the whole body politic of Europe. The United Nations must retain a monopoly of power; they must make it impossible for the world's peace to be challenged anew from any quarter, but in order to achieve their objectives and to avoid the recurrence of the age-long cycle of victory followed by revenge they must also, with the confident wisdom of assured strength, plan boldly for human welfare among the vanquished as well as among the victors.

There is, however, one special group of workers in Axis territories who have a more immediate claim upon the energies of the United Nations than any others—the workers from other lands who have been taken there by force and fraud, under the pressure of starvation and of reprisals against their loved ones. The I.L.O. has estimated that there are today in Europe over thirty million people who have been transplanted or torn from their homes, including at least six and a half million foreign workers employed in German's war industries. Immediate measures for the protection of these displaced foreign workers will be imperative. The responsibility for the repatriation of such workers will rest with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation, but it will also be necessar to make provision for their continued employment, maintenance and accommodation pending repatriation. The International Labour Conference will therefore have before it a proposal that the United Nations Labour Commissioner should take all possible steps to prevent the involuntary unemployment of foreign workers pending repatriation, that the dismissal of such workers should require the approval of his representative, and that where they can no longer be employed they should continue to receive their full wages in cash or in kind at the cost of the German State.

In addition to this emergency agenda consisting of proposals for the reorganization of the I.L.O., of a general programme of international economic co-operation, and of plans for social policy in occupied Axis territories, the forthcoming Philadelphia Conference will also have before it important proposals concerning the urgent questions of social policy which the democratic powers will face at home and in their colonial dependencies during the period immediately following the close of hostilities.

Foremost among these problems will be that of providing employment for the millions who will be demobilized from the services and from war industry. The Conference will therefore have before it, in addition to proposals concerning the general economic problems involved in the maintenance of full employment, proposals concerning the technical arrangements necessary for the transfer of man-power from war to peace production. These proposals provide, *inter alia,* for orderly demobilization programmes, for national reconversion programmes designed to facilitate the rapid and orderly conversion of the economy to peacetime needs with a minimum of transitional unemployment, and for special measures for the training and employment of handicapped workers.

Second only to employment among the social claims which have been thrust to the forefront by the war is social security, the provision of income security and of medical care in all the varied contingencies for which, in an industrialized society, the individual cannot make adequate provision by personal effort. In the more advanced democratic states much has already been done to promote social security by the gradual development of social insurance schemes. The International Labour Organization has played a considerable part in stimulating the development of such schemes during the last quarter of a century. The income security proposals now laid before the Conference are designed to promote further progress by the unification of social insurance schemes, the extension of such schemes to all workers and their families, including rural populations and the self-employed, and the elimination of inequitable anomalies.

The income security provisions for public subsidies for the healthy nurture of children, taking the form of such advantages as free or below-cost infants' food and school meals and below-cost dwellings for families with several children, or that of children's allowances representing a substantial contribution to the cost of maintaining a child.

The medical care proposals provide for the development in each country, as rapidly as national conditions allow, of either a public medical care service or a social insurance medical care service affording complete preventive and curative medical care to all members of the community. The proposals detailed suggestions for the rational organization of medical care services through group practice at health centres and do not overlook the special measures necessary for rural areas with sparsely settled populations. They embody appropriate safeguards for the right of the patient to choose his doctor, for the protection of the working conditions and status of doctors and members of allied professions, and for the maintenance of the highest possible standard of professional skill and knowledge. They include proposals concerning the financing of medical care which are based upon the general principle that the cost of the medical care service should be distributed among the members of the community in proportion to their ability to pay. The provide for the administration of the service on a basis designed to secure the fullest collaboration of the medical and allied professions on all professional matters and the fullest consultation of the beneficiaries of the service on matters of policy and administration. The proposals are designed to afford an international yardstick by which the adequacy of the medical care services of individual countries can be judged, and accordingly do not attempt to deal with all of the practical details of administration which their implementation under any particular set of national conditions will present.

The social security proposals to be considered by the Conference also deal specifically with the arrangements necessary to guarantee income security and medical care to persons from the armed forces and assimilated services from war employment. Persons discharged from the armed forces and from assimilated services will be faced with initial expenditure in re-establishing themselves in civil life; they may in certain cases remain unemployed for a time before obtaining suitable employment and should in that event enjoy the protection of unemployment insurance as though they had been insured contributors during the period of their war service; it would clearly be unfair that they should find themselves at a disadvantage in respect of pension insurance as compared with persons who have remained in civil employment, and it is also clearly desirable that they should be entitled to immediate protection under sickness insurance schemes. Proposals in regard to all these matters will come before the Conference. They represent an attempt to translate into concrete policies the general pledge of social security contained in the Atlantic Charter.

The third question on the technical agenda of the Conference, social policy in dependent territories, is a subject of less direct interest to Canada, but of no less importance for the world as a whole, especially at a time when the impact of the war has produced a revolution in social life and in economic possibilities and probabilities throughout the colonial world. The proposals on this question which will come before the Conference embody general principles of far-reaching importance and detailed minimum standards of labour protection. Among the general principles formulated in the proposals are the principle that all policies affecting dependent territories shall be primarily directed to the well-being and development of the peoples of such territories; the principle of financial and technical assistance for the economic development of dependent territories in the interest of their peoples; the principle that appropriate action shall be taken to establish conditions of trade sufficient for the maintenance of reasonable standards of living for producers efficiently producing the essential export products of the dependent territories; the principle that all necessary steps shall be taken by positive governmental action to promote improvement in such fields as public health, housing, nutrition, education, the welfare of children, the status of women, conditions of employment, the remuneration of wage-earners and independent producers, social security, standards of public services and general production; and the principle that all possible steps shall be taken to associate the peoples of the dependent territories in the framing and execution of measures of social progress through their own appropriate institutions. These principles express the new conception of colonial trusteeship which has been hammered into being on the anvils of depression and war, the conception of a positive and dynamic partnership in the pursuit of welfare, the conception that our responsibility to backward peoples is not discharged by furnishing a framework of law and order for their future development, but includes a responsibility for assisting them to build the economic foundations for social progress and political evolution.

Mr. Chairman, speaking as I do today on the eve of a major International Conference, I have necessarily laid before you not a record of accomplishment, but a programme, not an account of what the International Labour Organization has achieved during the last quarter of a century but an indication of the issues on which its forthcoming Conference will focus the attention of the governments, employees and workers of the free world. The tasks of reconstruction which now lie before the democratic peoples are of a magniture which might well lead the stoutest hearts to hesitate and quail. The assets of which we dispose for the tasks of reconstruction are, however, as unparalleled as the destruction which we have to repair. On the material side alone the stimulus to development given by the war can be made to compensate for all that has been destroyed. The expansion of the metal, the engineering and above all the machine tool industries during the war will, if wise policies are pursued, prove an asset and not a liability. These industries form the foundation of the whole industrial system and the strengthening of that foundation should greatly facilitate the development of higher standards of life throughout the world. The acquisition of new skills by labour should also facilitate the growth of new industries and the development of old; the number of persons in all parts of the world who have acquired a mechanical sense will have been enormously increased and a much larger proportion of the total labour force will have mastered more than one skill. The war will have enormously accelerated inventive processes; many new materials will have reached the stage of large-scale manufacture; the machinery in certain industries will have been modernized and greatly improved;

the organization of many concerns and of whole industries will have been remodelled and costs reduced. In terms of technical and social evolution the war has telescoped years into months and generations into years. Aviation, radiolocation and television; light metals and plastics; prefabrication and dehydration; these are but the precursors of a new age which will add to the world's wealth and welfare as coal and steel and the steam engine and electriciay and internal combustion added to it in the past. Nor is the scale of the destruction which has been caused, the complete disruption of the world economic system wrecked by the two wars and the depression, and the progressive extension of the danger zones to hitherto sheltered parts of the earth, without substantial compensating advantages. Today we must rebuild because we can do no other. We cannot be led astray by any mirage of good old days because most of us cannot remember any period within our lifetime to which we would willingly see the world return. Our unprecedented material resources may therefore prove to be the least of our assets of reconstruction value. The victory of freedom can be made the occasion for releasing moral energies capable of triumphing over privation and fatigue, over bewilderment and despair. If unity of purpose can be achieved and maintained, if self-discipline and vision continue to govern policy when victory is won, the civilization of the ages may yet go forward to build on the basis of the four freedoms a century of unparalleled progress throughout the world.

"THAT DRAGON GOEBBELS"

AN ADDRESS BY

S. J. DE LOTBINIERE, ESQ.

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eason Humphreys.

Thursday, April 20, 1944

MR. HUMPHREYS: Today's session of The Empire Club constitutes a salute to Britain, for we pay homage to St. George, the Patron Saint of England.

Sunday next is St. George's Day, as well as the birthday of that great Englishman, William Shapespeare.

Although St. George's Day is England's day, Scotsmen, Welshmen and Irishmen will be thought of in our prayers of thankfulness, for they, with Englishmen, are Britain—Britain whose gift to the world is liberty.

St. George's Day is not, I think, a day of festival, rather it is a day of prayer and dedication for the battle of freedom.

Great spiritual courage is required when you are alone. Britain stood alone, fortified by that spiritual courage. I repeat, gentlemen, it was Britain's courage and sacrifice that gave us our freedom.

To many, St. George is a legendery figure destroying a dragon. He was, however, born of a noble Christian family at Lydda, in Palestine, A.D. 270. When St. George was still a small boy, his father is said to have been martyred. At 17, St. George entered the Roman Army and served as a tribune under Diocletian, whose edict ordering the persecution of the Christians, St. George is said to have torn down. Arrested, tortured, he held firmly to his faith, and so died at the age of 33.

In the fourth century, a church was dedicated to him at Rome, and soon the people of England became familiar with his name.

The flag of the Crusaders (a red cross on a white field) was also the flag of St. George, and when the Crusaders entered Antioch in 1189, at one stage of the battle, they wavered. Then, it is said, St. George appeared and rallied them to victory.

In a moment or so, I shall give you the toast to St. George and Britain. Afterwards, our guest of honour, Mr. S. J. de Lotbinière, will reply by addressing us on the subject: "That Dragon, Goebbels".

Although born in Britain, Mr. de Lotbinière is the descendant of a distinguished Canadian family. In one sense, he has come home, for his grandfather, Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière, was Prime Minister of Quebec (which is somewhat unusual for a Protestant), and, for a short time, he was a member of Laurier's Cabinet. His father trained at the Royal Military College, Kingston, and became a commissioned officer of the Imperial Army.

Mr. de Lotbinière was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, and for a time practised as a member of the Chancery Bar. He joined the British Broadcasting Corporation in 1932, and has held several responsible positions there. For example, he was responsible for the great Coronation Broadcast. More recently, he has been associated in London with the organization of United States, Canadian, and other broadcasting networks. A few months ago, he came to Canada for the first time, to forge the final link in a broadcasting chain, namely that between the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the British Broadcasting Corporation, and he is now in charge of the B.B.C. Office in Canada.

Mr. de Lotbinière's duties are of special interest to us, for he directs the attention of the B.B.C. to material representative of Canadian life broadcast or otherwise publicized, an important and useful function, especially in the interests of Canada. Now, gentlemen, and perhaps you who are listening, too, will you drink a solemn toast with me: "St. George and England."

Gentlemen: Mr. S. J. de Lotbinière, his subject: "That Dragon Goebbels".

Mr. de Lotbinière: Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen of the Empire Club and Guests from St. George's Society: I wonder if any amongst you can realize with what feelings I find myself replying here in the City of Toronto to the toast of "St. George," Patron Saint of England. Those feelings are, I think, a mixture. There's naturally awe at the task that I am set; there's pride, too, in the honour that The Empire Club has done me and there's real emotion in the fact that I—a French-Canadian by recent descent—should be asked to speak on such an occasion and in such a place.

Though my family has played some part in Canadian history, it is no credit to any action of mine that I bear the name I do. But I think it is something that your committee should have invited someone with my name to speak here today. Why, scarcely 150 years ago my ancestors were doing their level best to keep your ancestors out of Canada; and if their discrimination had been matched by their success—it would, I believe, have been a bad day for Canada. For surely there's room enough in this great country of yours for St. George as well as St. Denys—for the fleur de lys as well as the rose.

Next Sunday is St. George's Day. From one end of England to the other the red cross of St. George will be flying from church tower in town and village. Some of you will have your own memories of England on St. George's Day—a last war memory perhaps of some Wiltshire village, half hidden in a fold of Salisbury Plain, or of some old North Country church, built of that close grained granite which seems to defy the hand of time.

My thoughts—and this will be the first St. George's Day that I will have spent out of England—my thoughts will go to a church tower of flint and stone in my home village of Brandon in East Anglia—to a tower built by English craftsmen who have been laid to rest these six hundred years and more. They lie, I daresay, under some of the grass mounds in the church yard, amongst the drifts of yellow daffodils. Two crusaders lie there, too—under stones so weather-worn that it's only by local tradition that we claim they fought under King Richard in the Holy Land. Above them all—crusader or craftsman—will float the standard of St. George, red and white against the blue of an April sky. That's a noble sight, but the last four years have taught us that there's none nobler than when that same flag shines clear against a dark background of thunder clouds.

As like as not next Sunday there'll be on that church tower a figure or two in khaki. They won't be there to do honour to St. George—not directly at any rate. For they're there most Sundays. They're members of the Home Guard engaged on a Sunday exercise. For all I know their great great grandfathers watched from that same tower when Napoleon threatened invasion, and more than two hundred years before that a beacon on the church tower stood ready to signal the approach of the Spanish Armada. But for over 800 years England's citizens have watched for the invader and watched in vain. And even now the thoughts of Britain's Home Guard turn to attack rather than defence.

Only the other day a friend of mine told me of a Home Guard exercise that he was on—this time at night and in a Sussex village. It was two o'clock in the morning and he and a local farmer found time to discuss the progress of the war. The farmer reckoned that it wouldn't be long before they'd be wanting some of the Home Guard to go overseas. My friend asked how many of their company would be fit enough for overseas service. The farmer, who was wearing medals of the last war, thought that 60 or 70 of them might be able to make it. But he added that he'd seen some of "they young Canadian soldiers" training to be assault troops. They looked fit and strong and it was unlikely that the Home Guard could keep pace with them. So, said he, "I reckon they should properly send us over first." That was said sincerely and simply—and there spoke St. George.

Gentlemen, I make no apology for having spoken so far on a sentimental note. I did it for a purpose. Flags and anniversaries and emblems have their value—but only if they stand for something more than sentiment. The standard of St. George is so much red and white bunting—and so much red and white bunting wasted—unless it stands for action and for action taken with courage and a high heart.

All of you in Canada have, I feel, been more than generous in your estimate of what Britain went through in the dark winter of 1940—so generous in fact that I hesitate to say anything more about those blitz days. But then in truth London and Coventry, Hull and Tyneside, had a right to wear the emblem of St. George. There was action, and there surely was courage and a high heart.

I remember in Bristol one night—during a pretty sharp raid, I was fire watching in an empty B.B.C. building. It had no shelter and it was supposed to have a ghost. I was on my own—so for company's sake I joined a group of people in a street shelter outside. There was a boy there, a lad I suppose of about 13 or 14. He had on a little tin helmet and he was obviously the mascot of the local firefighting unit. Quite a lot was coming down, and there was a good deal of noise—when through it all we heard a new sound—the shrill roar of an aircraft in a dive. They boy heard it too. He shouted, "Cor, they're dive bombing" and he shot out of that shelter and into the open street—just to see what dive bombing might look like in the light of Bristol's fires. I didn't follow him. We heard the bomber come out of its dive, drop something and zoom up again. The boy came back. "Never saw nothing," he said. "Never mind, sonny," said a voice out of the darkness, "Bristol's playing Portsmouth next Saturday—and in Bristol that's just about the equivalent of a Torontonian saying "Leafs are playing Canadians."

That's not a very singular story perhaps—but it wasn't a very singular incident. For during those dark days St. George was abroad in the cities of Britain; and Cockney or West Countryman, Yorkshireman or Man of Kent, there were plenty who responded to his call for courage, and a cheerful heart.

That call persists and with it always is the call for action. St. George believed in action. He up and slew a dragon and thereby set an example for all time to those who acknowledge him as saint and martyr.

But the action can't always be spectacular. There are humble jobs to be done. There must be someone to help St. George into his armour and there must be someone to record his exploits as he faces and defeats the foe. I make no excuse for taking up your time today with some account of these unspectacular contributions to the war—the fight against Goebbels and his propaganda machine. I make no excuse, because it is something of which I can speak from my own experience, and because I believe it is a job that had to be done, and still has to be done.

I expect many of you must know the old story of the man who'd dined well—and who woke in the middle of the night to find a small dragon beside his bed. In the interests of strict accuracy it was a small alligator he saw there—but either way it seemed so unusual that the man thought he'd better try some more sleep. But sleep was no good. For next morning the dragon was still there. It followed him along to the bathroom. It followed him down to breakfast. When he was getting ready to go to the office, it showed signs of wanting to come too. So, to make the best of a bad job, he put it on a lead and set off for the office. His way lay along an avenue of trees. The dragon was inclined to pause here and there. Finally its master got exasperated, "If you stop one more," he said, "I'll take an aspirin and then you won't be there at all."

Now that was evidently a dragon of no substance. And some people were inclined to think the same of Goebbels and his gang—but only at first. Within a few weeks of the outbreak of war Lord Haw Haw was one of the most popular radio stars in Britain. Very soon he and others were being widely listened to overseas and it was clear that the B.B.C. had a big job on hand. Now I don't want to suggest that the B.B.C. was the only organization that was out to defeat Goebbels and his Italian and Japanese counterparts. There were other broadcasting organizations—there was the press—there were films. But the B.B.C. was at least well situated to join in the fight.

We were well situated—but we had certain problems. Let me take you in imagination back to the summer of 1939. War wasn't a certainty then, but assuming it was, what preparations had we got to make to meet what was to us a wholly new and unknown set of circumstances.

We'd got two main problems to settle—first how best to keep the radio machine going and then how to put that machine to wartime use. I suppose, in that summer of 1939, the thing that puzzled us most about keeping the machine going was the scale of possible enemy attack. We'd got our programme centres in eight or nine of the principal cities of Britain—with a heavy concentration of studios and staff in London. Here the concentration was largely in one building—Broadcasting House. That's an eight storey building above ground with three floors below—and were were to find that in the long run those below ground floors were to stand us in good stead. All the offices at Broadcasting House are built round a sort of central tower in which are—or were—the studios, and our control room was on the top floor under a glass roof.

We knew that we couldn't make Broadcasting House bomb proof. And we were proved right about eighteen months later when a 500 pound bomb came in at an angle through the outer shell of offices and into the studio tower where it burst. Six of the staff were killed, and three floors of studios vanished in dust and broken glass. Down below in the basement, news bulletins were on the air both in the Home and Overseas services. I was out of London listening to the Home news. I heard the thud of the explosion and then a girl's voice saying, "Go on, it's all right." I thought to myself—"A lot of fool listeners will think that's a bomb hitting Broadcasting House." I was the fool listener that time—while the announcer read on to the distant rumble of walls crumbling only two or three floors above his head.

Well, that's one thing that eventually happened—but in that summer of 1939 we were only guessing. We knew that the London hospitals were preparing for 200,000 casualties a week and we decided to reduce their labours, if we could, by planning a large scale dispersal of staff. That dispersal took place in due course. But even then we had to decide what line to take in the event of a raid on one of our dispersal areas. We didn't feel justified in spending the labour and materials in making all our studios bomb proof, and so we were left with the possible alternative of finding ourselves having to abandon a programme already on the air or of risking the lives of maybe twenty or thirty artists.

Our practise evolved with experience. In 1941 I found myself at Bristol—at a time when we had our big symphony orchestra there, as well as three smaller orchestras. Many's the night I and others spent roof spotting—with the German planes droning overhead on their way maybe to Coventry or Birmingham, or Clydeside. I'd have a programme schedule with me, so as to know at any given moment what programmes might be originating in Bristol. There were usually several of these and we'd be faced with a problem. On the one hand the German planes seem to be on their way elsewhere. On the other hand, down below was a studio full, maybe, of eighty or ninely of the best musicians in Britain. Should they be sent to the shelters or should the broadcast go on?

It was a gamble and a good deal more exciting than shooting crap. Though it was a gamble, I know that some of those musicians—many of them veterans of the last war—rejoiced to think that in this war they'd still got a job to do that kept them within sound of enemy action.

Another unknown quantity that we were facing in the months before the war was the effect of security regulations on our operations. They were bound to prove embarrassing—but how embarrassing?

You've heard the news from time to time of enemy stations going off the air—with the implication that an allied raid was in progress.

Well our medium stations sometimes went off the air too—but our shortwave stations never did. In fact I believe it is true to say that so far the enemy have never interrupted our shortwave services to any part of the world. The enemy may have cause some programme changes—but never more than that.

Then there was anxiety about what our microphones might give away as to the whereabouts of falling bombs or as to where and at what exact times sirens might be sounding "alerts" or "all clears." In fact at one time we were asked by a service ministry if we couldn't record all our programmes a day in advance—news included! That scheme, fortunately, came to nothing. All the same whereabouts of raiding was an important security secret and I've little doubt a wise one.

It is possible to mistake a target and it's not good to tell the enemy when he makes such a mistake. But it led to some strange situations. After one particularly heavy Bristol raid—when the fires were still burning and the rescue squads still at work—we had to broadcast to Bristol's citizens, news of a raid on what we had to call "A West Country Town". The only extra identification that we could give to listeners was that the Germans claimed that it was Bristol.

Then there was the weather. The Englishman is said to talk little and when he does talk, to talk only of the weather. Well, he's had to be rationed in this war on weather news. Targets are too close to German bomber stations to let them know when the sky over London is clear or cloudy. We tell them now about the Straits of Dover and that's all. But this ruling made it difficult for commentators on outside events. No longer could they see gold braid gleaming in the sunshine, or Union Jacks flapping in the wind. You couldn't even say whether the Newmarket "going" would suit the favourite or not.

There was one occasion when we'd got a commentary on a football match in North London—at the "Spurs" ground at Tottenham. About an hour before the match the Air Ministry rang up to say they were expecting London to be hit by a sudden blizzard—of an intensity that might stop even a League football match. If so, they said, our commentator must on no account attribute the abandonment of the match to weather conditions.

I got through to the ground and told the commentator what to expect and what *not* to say. Then I waited to see how he'd get out of this difficulty. Unfortunately, the blizzard never materialized.

So much, gentlemen, for the problems of enemy attack and of the Service Department's Security regulations. What about expansion? What wartime developments—if the war ever came—what wartime developments must we prepare for?

In that summer of 1939 we had a Home service, a European service and a World service. Our European service then consisted of an hour a day in three languages. Now it broadcasts for a total of 42 hours a day in 25 languages. Our prewar World service broadcast only in English and Arabic. Now it broadcasts in some 23 languages or dialects. Only the other day—just before I left London—I was passing one of our studios when I heard a language new to me coming from the control cubicle loudspeaker. I went in to ask the operator what it was. "Hokkien," she said, "that's one of the three Chinese dialects we're now using."

You can imagine what sore of thing that development has meant in the way of staff. Our offices now are a miniature League of Nations. You can sit in committees where the Commonwealth is as fully represented as at an Imperial Conference. You can go into the canteen and gossip in any language you happen to know with someone from almost any one of Europe's capitals—for Europe is one of our especial targets.

So little does Goebbels appreciate these European activities of ours, that he employs a multitude of men and equipment in jamming the various services. But he's got his work cut out. Thirty transmitters serve Europe alone and that gives the enemy plenty to do, when they're all being used together. Not content with that we put out a morse service for the editors of Europe's underground press—and morse is almost impossible to jam.

But besides jamming, Goebbels has the help of the Gestapo to discourage listening. He can discourage it but we have plenty of evidence that he can't stop it. When the B.B.C. started the "V" campaign—the dot-dot-dot-dash, it swept Europe in spite of Goebbels. It only took a few days for the slogan to catch on in 50 different countries and to be translated into signs and sounds and words and even music. We still use it on our European service as a discreet introduction to news bulletins. Da-da-da-da. It sound like a mysterious knocking on a closed door, so that the Gestapo have to be almost in the room to know that the set is tuned to London.

One last thing about the radio machine itself, the machine that the B.B.C. has been developing and building up during the past four and a half years. *We had to have world-wide coverage.* Somehow we had to reach all parts of the world some of the time; we couldn't hope to cover all parts of the world all the time.

Some of the things that I came across during the time I was working with our overseas service made me realize what a part we could play in world communications with our powerful shortwave transmitters—those strange networks of wires and masts which rise from amongst moorland and ploughland in some of the loneliest and loveliest parts of England.

During the Libyan campaign the South Africa Broadcasting Corporation had a war reporting unit in North Africa. Their reports and front line recordings were radiod to us from Cairo and we'd put them back to South Africa, over the war reporters heads. That was the only way they could reach South African listeners, via London. We did the same for the Australian reporters and for the New Zealanders. We're doing the same now for your C.B.C. unit in the Mediterranean.

I remember, too, that during the Hong Kong siege, we put out messages to the garrison, messages that had been cabled to us from Vancouver on the Pacific coast.

At another time Singapore cabled to ask us to include all possible Chungking news in the bulletins that we were beaming to them from London. If you look at a world map, that seems a surprising request—Singapore listening to London for news from Chungking. And in the last days of Singapore we were sending them Reuter's messages at dictation speed—to use in their local newspapers.

And here's another random memory. Towards the end of that same year a naval petty officer, who'd been stationed in the Falkland Islands for the previous four years, came to see me to discuss some special programme for the Islanders. I happened to ask him what the time difference was—between London and the Falkland Isles. He thought for a moment and then he said, "It must be four hours difference. I remember it was eight o'clock Island time last year when we all brought our radios up on deck to listen to Big Ben bring in the New Year." That made us realize afresh what a strange and powerful instrument we had at our disposal for better or for worse—an instrument that could link so effectively the lonely Falkland Islands with blacked-out London.

Mind you the links are nothing like complete. Canada's shortwave station is still in the making, and Britain must be able to listen to Canada, as well as Canada to Britain. Broadcasting between different parts of the Empire must be two-way—if we are to learn enough of each other to be able to overcome our mutual prejudices and suspicions which are largely born of ignorance that Goebbels and others like him seek to foster and foment.

Incidentally, the B.B.C.'s service to Canada is not as reliable as it should be. There's many a night when listening to London is difficult or impossible. That's partly due to the fact that London's radio beam passes too close to the disturbing influence of the magnetic North. But we're hoping to overcome that. Even now engineers are on their way from London to Leopoldville in the Belgian Congo. When these engineers get there we shall be able to use the transmitters there as a relay station for a few hours each evening. London's signal will go 4,000 miles south to the Belgian Congo and then 6,000 miles North West again to Canada—and that will take about 1/18th of a second. Tests have shown that this will cheat the magnetic North of some of its evil influence, and so make the evening transmission from London easier for Canadian listeners.

That, gentlemen, is enough and more than enough about the radio machine itself. What about the use we've made of it? I'll tell you. I believe that our guiding principle from the first day of the war until today has been to stick to the truth. We believed that in the long run people would want the real story and not what ought to be called the "Goebbled version".

Mind you it isn't always easy to get at the truth. The same words will mean one thing to one person and one to another. Suppose Mar. X visits London and comes away saying "I'd no idea that the bomb damage was so extensive." What measure is that of the actual damage? Or if Mr. Y. reports that there's a lot of absenteeism in a certain shipyards—what's a "lot"—is it 5% or 25%?

Then again, even if you can make words mean the same to every listener; mechanized warfare moves so swiftly that genuine optimism at Headquarters can easily be hours behind the actual turn of events. War reporters found that all right in the desert fighting in North Africa.

Sometimes too, for security reasons it pays to withhold details of a particular engagement. Do you remember the *Ark Royal* at the beginning of the war? Haw Haw went on the air day after day saying "We've sunk your *Ark Royal.* If we haven't, where is she?" The Admiralty decided not to tell them until she was safely back in port—and naturally the B.B.C. followed suit.

Of course the wise guys were at us all the time. "The truth's all very well," they'd say, "but at least jazz it up. Make people listen to the news. Get Gracie Fields to read your bulletins and let her sing the good parts if she feels like it."

Well we stuck to our guns. The world smiled a bit and some of our best friends ground their teeth and said "You'll never do it that way." I believe they were wrong. We knew that it was to be a long war and if, in the long run, we wanted people to listen to London, we'd got to do all we could to give them the truth, straight and unvarnished.

Haw Haw, by contrast, hit the highlights all right—for a time. But today how many people in this room know if he's still broadcasting? I'm almost ashamed to say that I, for one, don't know. And I believe that's because Haw Haw and his like have preferred the "Goebbled version" to the truth.

I was told once that in a certain newspaper in Lisbon a full page advertisement appeared one Sunday and announced in bold capitals "Berlin Broadcasts and Europe Listens." On the following Sunday that same page proclaimed "London Broadcasts and Europe Believes."

And that's been our objective—to seel and to tell the truth—and I think it has paid handsome dividends. As for the jazzing up of our news broadcasts, again I believe we did the right thing. I've had the good fortune to go right across Canada in the few months that I've been here, and I've been impressed by the number of people who've said this sort of thing to me about the B.B.C.'s news bulletins. "I like the calm voices of your announces. When things were going badly they seemed to give us confidence." I believe those voices gave confidence on the Home Front, too. And there was a time when confidence alone saved the day for us when we hasn't in fact the men or the arms to resist the enemy—but we believed in our cause and in that belief and with God's help we won through.

Only the other day I noticed a fresh sample of our restrained approach to news reporting. One evening during Mr. Churchill's recent illness I met in Toronto one or two people who seemed to think that things were very serious. They'd heard rumours of Mrs. Churchill flying to his bedside and so on. So I tuned into London and waited for our next news bulletin. We led with a Japanese story, went on to the Cassino fighting and only third did we report on Mr. Churchill's health. That made me feel he'd pull through and he did. That restraint was'nt lack of emotion—whatever it may have seemed like here and in the United States.

There's a well known United States radio writer called Norman Corwin. He came to Britain two years ago to do a series of programmes back to the United States. They were called "An American Looks at Britain." In one of them he was poking fun at the Englishmen's alleged lack of emotion and he introduced into the programme our senior announcer reading a B.B.C. news bulletin. From memory the bulletin began something like this: "At three o'clock this afternoon the world came to an end during a session of the House of Commons. The House immediately adjourned. A full report of today's Parliamentary proceedings will be given at the end of this bulletin"—and then the bulletin went on to report that the Foreign Secretary had seen a snipe in St. James' Park—or something of the sort. Corwin was poking fun at us all right—but I'm not at all sure that I didn't feel rather pleased that that was the way we struck him at a time when we were in the very midst of a life and death struggle.

In any event it's no good pretending that the Englishman is something that he is not. It's not by pretense that international broadcasting will help to build understanding between the nations of the world. We've all got to put our cards on the table and then we shall have an understanding of each other's weaknesses as well as of each other's strengths.

You don't like an English accent perhaps—and I'm quite sure you don't like mine—but let's accept the fact that our accents are different and make the best of it.

Even the Englishman's reticence is a negative sort of crime. You know the story of the two Englishmen who were crossing the Atlantic. One of them always wore an Old Etonian tie and neither spoke when they met at meals. On the third day out the other appeared also in an Old Etonian tie. Nothing was said at breakfast but at luncheon one looked across at the other and said "Crossing?" Now I don't know that was really a serious crime. After all, I wonder if St. George was a big talker.

What, for instance, do you imagine he had to say after his fight with the dragon? What do you imagine he had to say to the reporters from the *Libya Telegram* and the *North Africa Star*? Perhaps St. George was poet enough to be able to describe the Princess and the desolate place in which he found her—but I doubt if he said much about his actual fight with the dragon. I certainly can't find that he did.

Be that as it may, I don't believe any Englishman would wish St. George to have given a full-length account of the actual fight. And if that's the way Englishmen are made—and I say this as a French-Canadian—that's the way they'd better stay, and they can safely leave Goebbels to do most of the talking.

But that's enough of Goebbels. What about the rest of his dragon brood? There's a lot of kick in them yet; though it's not for nothing that Britain's Eighth Army have worn the emblem of St. George from Alamein to Italy. And it's not for nothing that Malta's Cross has for central device St. George overcoming the Dragon.

You here in Canada know as well as anyone that there's still work to be done. Your sons are overseas carrying on their shoulder flashes for all to see, names that spell Canada's geography and Canada's history—the 48th Highlanders, so many of them from here in the city of Toronto; the Royal Edmonton Regiment, the Royal 22nd Regiment from Quebec, the famous "Van Doos"; the Saskatoon Light Infantry, the Hastings and Prince Edward Regiment, the West Nova Scotia Regiment, the Royal Montreal Regiment, Vancouver's Seaforth Highlanders, and many more.

You have indeed sent your sons from these shores to seek out the dragon wherever he lurks—whether it be in the sky, on land, on the sea or under it. You have sent him out because you have realized that the dragon's pestilence threatens not only Britain but also your own country, your own homes, and your own fair cities. You may feel some sentiment too—towards the Old Country

—I hope you do. But war is a stark business and it must be waged by realists, and I believe that you Canadians are realists.

You know that you do not fight the dragon for Britain's sake alone—but for your own sakes—for the sake of your sons and your son's sons. Canada and Britain have a righteous cause and a common cause. We stand shoulder to shoulder. So standing, and by God's grace—we shall prevail.

THE ANNUAL MEETING, EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

Chairman: The President, Mr. W. Eason Humphreys.

Thursday, April 27, 1944

MR. HUMPHREYS: I am sorry to disturb your lunch, gentlemen, but, as you know, this is the Annual Meeting, and we have some business to transact.

There are one or two remarks your President would like to make prior to the election of officers for the ensuing year. These are that details of the Financial Statement will appear in the Year Book as usual. Despite an added expense of $600.00 over which your Committee has had no control whatever, it looks as though the deficit will be approximately $90.00. However, the accounts are not yet closed, and there may be one or two gentlemen who will pay their 1943-44 dues in time to reduce the deficit. (Laughter.)

Now, gentlemen, a word about membership and attendance: I would direct your special attention to this. The session just closing constitutes a war-time record in total membership. There were fewer resignations, and members dropped for non-payment of dues are few—the smallest on record. More important still, average weekly attendance at meetings has been higher.

Sixteen of our fellow members have passed on during this session. Will you please stand while I read their names:

Herbert A. Clark,
James E. Dyke,
Sir Robert Falconer,
S. F. Fitch,
George C. Heintzman,
Charles E. Lee,
Sir Charles G. D. Roberts,
E. M. Saunders,
Edmund Scheuer,
George E. Scroggie,
W. H. Shapley,
T. D. Wardlaw,

Arthur E. Moysey, Dr. D. J. Sinclair
N. L. Nathanson, (non-resident)
J. P. Patterson,

Thank you,—please resume your seats.

Looking back over the session and the speakers we have received to this platform, it is interesting to note that the Club has considered: 11 subjects of strictly Canadian importance; 10 subjects of international character; and 10 subjects dealing primarily with the British Empire.

I would like to suggest that the value of your membership and mine in this Club cannot be measured by what you or I alone get out of it. Broadcasting has enlarged the scope of the influence of your Club, and I am told that our air audience can be anything up to 800,000 listeners, depending, of course, on the attractiveness of the speaker and his subject.

Another observation I wish to make is that The Empire Club of Canada should be much larger than it is. You, gentlemen, can make it so. Although you now have the largest membership roll for many a year, I suggest an objective of 2,000 members by the end of next session might be considered by you through the Executive Committee you will shortly elect.

There has never been a better time than now—today—to remind ourselves of the constitutional aim of this Club. It is, as you know, "Canada and a United Empire." That part of the Constitution I feel must be defended up to the hilt, but I am going to suggest that consideration be given to revision of other parts of the Constitution during the coming session. One member of your Constitutional Committee has put it this way, "Our Constitution is a little untidy."

Lastly, gentlemen, I wish personally to thank the staff, the Executive Committee of The Empire Club, particularly those gentlemen who have headed sub-committees. I have called them a sort of "Inner Cabinet". It would not perhaps be fair to single them out, but you and I have received wonderful support from all these and other gentlemen of your Executive Committee.

Now we come to the last item of business before we go on the air, namely, the election of officers. Mr. Bourlier, you have a report to make.

Mr. Bourlier: Gentlemen, and particularly members of The Empire Club: I dare say and hope you have read the Constitution which appears in the latter pages of this worthy manual. (Holds up Year Book.) If you may have done so, you will have found that the officers and members of the Executive Committee must be elected each year by ballot. Then, later on, you will read that a Nominating Committee must be appointed for the purpose indicated, not more than six but not less than four weeks before the Annual Meeting.

Now, your Nominating Committee was duly appointed and met twice, namely, on April 11th and 19th, and the response to the appeal for nominations was so generous that the supply exceeded the demand, and it was necessary for the committee to do some ballotting in order to reduce the number to actual requirements. This is the result:

For President—Mr. Charles R. Conquergood.
For 1st Vice-President—Mr. Frank L. Clouse.
For 2nd Vice-President—Mr. Tracy E. Lloyd.
For Third Vice-President—Mrs. S. J. Andrews.
For Hon. Secy.-Treas.—Mr. H. C. Bourlier,
For Treasurer—Mr. W. W. Comber.
For Honorary Auditor—Mr. H. T. Jamieson.

For Executive Committee:

Col. F. F. Arnoldi,
E. James Bennett,
Robert A. Bryce,
Hector Charlesworth,
Major E. F. Coke,
W. O. Detweiler,
F. B. Fetherstonhaugh,
C. Norman Ham,

George Hardy,
Horace Harpham,
H. G. Haynes,
Sydney Hermant,
Gordon Janes,
Gordon Jones,
J. P. Pratt,
E. F. Thompson,
Lieut.-Col. H. C. Tutte.

Immediate Past-President:
W. Eason Humphreys,

Past Presidents who automatically become ex-officio members of Executive:
Major Gordon B. Balfour, 1936-37.
Major R. M. Harcourt, 1937-38.
Dr. F. A. Gaby, 1939-40.

I move acceptance of this Report.

MR. HUMPHREYS: Gentlemen, you have heard the motion put by the Honorary Secretary-Treasurer. Does anyone second the motion?

MR. WILLIAM BROOKS: I second the motion.

MR. HUMPHREYS: Are you ready for the question, gentlemen?

MEMBERS: Ay.

MR. HUMPHREYS: Those in favour of the adoption of the Report please raise your right hands.
Contrary? (None)
I declare the motion carried unanimously.

Gentlemen, I shall ask the President-Elect to come and take his seat beside me here at the Head Table. Mr. Conquergood, will you please come up? As we are going on the air immediately, Mr. Conquergood will speak to us later.

Gentlemen of The Empire Club, Ladies and Gentlemen of the radio audience: Last December, and on your behalf, we invited Lord Halifax to address The Empire Club of Canada, and our invitation was accepted. Later, the Toronto Board of Trade, contemplating a centennial dinner, also invited the British Ambassador to the United States. Since the Board of Trade this year celebrates 100 years of service, and our meeting would have no such significance, we readily gave way to them.

What Lord Halifax said in his Toronto speech echoed around the world and inspired much discussion here in Canada. Opinions have differed, and views have been expressed by some who neither heard nor read the speech —(laughter)—but because of the importance of the subject, the Club thought the matter could with some usefulness to all of us be reviewed, and so we invited Dr. Herbert Leslie Stewart, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.S.C., to come and discuss the subject with us. This he does today under the title "A Closer Empire Unity."

Dr. Stewart, Professor of Philosophy, Dalhousie University, Halifax—Editor-in-Chief of the *Dalhousie Review,* and author of many books—was born in Cairn Castle, Country Antrim, Ireland. He was educated at Belfast and Oxford Universities and the Royal University of Ireland. His voice is well known throughout Canada, especially to those who listen to "Week-End Review" on Sundays. To The Empire Club, he is an old friend, and needs little introduction, for we welcome him to this platform for the fourth time in as many years. Dr. Stewart was given an unique job when he was appointed Chairman of the Board of Conciliation and Investigation by the Minister of Labour, in connection with a dispute between the Canadian National Railways and certain employees. He is known for his shrewd appraisal of the world about him and, early in the war, when some of us were a little confused, I remember seeing Dr. Stewart broadcast, in a very hot studio, and thanking him, then, for adding to my international thinking.

Dr. Stewart, we welcome you back; and now, will you please address us on "A Closer Empire Unity." (Hearty applause at beginning and end of Dr. Stewart's address.)

"A CLOSER EMPIRE UNITY"

An Address By

PROF. H. L. STEWART, Ph.D.

Dr. Stewart: My first duty, as so often in the past, is to thank you for this invitation to speak to you again, for the never failing cordiality with which I have been received, and for the kindness of the terms in which the Chairman has introduced me.

This is the third time during the terrible conflict so well called "the ordeal of our generation", that I have come to exchange reflections with your Club. I came first, when we had been a short time at war, to summarize the reasons why Canada had, in honour, no option but to fight. Next time, two years later, when it seemed not inopportune to speak of terms of settlement, I tried to indicate to you some minimum requirements for the peace which should be imposed. Today I have something altogether different in mind.

It has been suggested to me by proposals coming to us from various quarters: from leaders of opinion as unlike one another as Lord Davies, Lord Halifax and Field-Marshal Smuts. These men, looking beyond the question how the war can be won to the question how peace may afterwards be safeguarded, have thought out scheme after scheme with at least one element in common. They all impress upon the democracies the need for a far closer as well as a more frequent coming together in council, that they may act together more promptly than in the past when a common danger threatens. It is a project one might call international preventive medicine; a project for uniting the democracies in time to prevent what they have twice within a generation been united only in time to repair.

My topic today is the value of this advice, so far as it applies to the democracies within the British Commonwealth of Nations. Has the bond there been too loose? Have we lost something precious for the maintenance of peace by creating—or permitting—a doubt of Commonwealth coherence? If so, can we eliminate, or reduce, such risk for the future? For the sake of clearness, I shall begin by putting in a single sentence the whole burden of this address. Here is my thesis:

> In the interests of world peace, we need to draw more firmly the bonds of the British Empire, and we can do so—if we will—without impairing in the least degree Dominion self-government in any sense in which Dominion self-government is valuable.

All I have now to say is in exposition and illustration of that thesis.

I

I think I hear someone exclaim "What an amazing idea to advance at a time such as this—the idea that we have been remiss in Empire solidarity! The unity of the Empire surely could not have had more signal attestation than it has just now, in a conflict whose scale was before not only unknown but unimagined—on, land, by sea and in the air. I grant it. Commonwealth unity has been demonstrated by the most exacting test. But when we say, as we often do say, that this has amazed not the enemy alone but ourselves, we raise just the problem I have come to set forth. Why the amazement? There is a grave and needless risk in letting it be thought, as it was thought by far too many, that the Empire response in a crisis such as this would be far below what it has proved to be. Certainly there should be gratitude and exultation at what we have seen, but there should be no surprise, and the point of the thesis I want to commend to you is this: that the Dominions should so enter with Great Britain into constant common council, adopt a common decision, speak with a common voice at the determining of foreign policy as to leave no excuse in any quarter, either to friend or to foe, for any other expectation than their fighting together to the utmost. I have much sympathy with the argument which Lord Halifax presented here three months ago, in a speech so strangely misunderstood, or at least misinterpreted. He dwelt upon the entrance of the Dominions into this European dispute, not too late to have the cause, but alas too late to save the peace, and he suggested how a lesson might be drawn from that experience, how a quicker or more effective entry while peace is merely threatened might prevent another time what we have this time had to repair. And not only once: our generation has known two world wars; twice the Commonwealth has had to make good by intense coherence in action the damage which it may well have contributed to bring about by its apparent incoherence in plans. Twice it has united to win a war: may it not learn to unite in such manner as to render it distinctly less probable that another war will break out?

Look back upon those intervening twenty years, 1919 to 1939, which are best described as constituting the Twenty-Years Truce. Fundamentally the Empire remained as close-knit as ever: everyone knows that now. But there was many a sign, negligently or thoughtlessly given, which a foreign observer in that period might construe to mean that Empire coherence was weakening. Recall the isolationism preached in too many Dominion newspapers, Canadian newspapers (which I shall not advertise by naming them) included. Often the isolationism was covert, indirect, camouflaged, but not for that reason the less, rather indeed the more dangerous. One thinks too of this subversive doctrine spread by some public men in all the Dominions, Canada included—men who could command an audience neither insignificant in number nor hesitant in response. Very common indeed, especially at those conferences of youth in which we were told that the hope of the future must be found, was speculation about Canada's probable attitude if another war should ensure. It was frequently predicted, by speakers who there took themselves very seriously indeed and who were reported by a press with quick eye for the sensational, that no such spirit as that in the summer of 1914 would be shown, that the simple-minded imperialism of those earlier days had undergone vast disillusionment, and that the neutrality programme advocated with such eagerness by United States leaders in the event of another war in Europe would make effective appeal to Canada also. Don't we recall how members of parliament were urged to support a resolution notifying the world that never again would Canada supply an expeditionary force to take part in a war outside her own boundaries? It became notorious that systematic discountenancing of the Empire, systematic inculcation of antagonism between Canadian and imperial interests, was a favourite exercise in university courses on political science or history.

Not for a moment do I suggest that all this subversive propagandism had any grave effect on the national morale. Canadian fibre is sufficiently robust to remain but little broken by such infection. What did, however, most unfortunately happen was a misleading of the Empire's foreign enemies by such plausible *prima facie* evidence for what they wanted to believe. They listened eagerly, to those with some apparent right to speak for South Africa, for Australia, for Canada, when such publicists assured them in the middle 1930's that the South African, the Australian, the Canadian attitude towards the Empire was altogether different from what it had been in 1914. Here was notable encouragement to the enemy. It is recorded, for example, that Schuschnigg, in his grim interview with Hitler at Berchtesgaden, that fateful spring, 1939, told the Fuehrer he would have to fight Great Britain before he could carve at will the continent of Europe. "Nothing of the sort", was the dictatorial reply: "Britain can't fight without her Dominions, and they are fed up with her". Did we inadvertently, in those years, supply any quotable evidence, which malicious ingenuity prompted by wishful thinking could so misconstrue? If we did, what precaution can we take to make sure that we never do the like again?

II

Consider another course from which this noxious legend of a dissolving Empire was stimulated. It arose not merely from our recurring isolationist talk—that dangerous intellectual diversion practised during the twenty-year truce, and fatally misconstrued by an observant enemy. Another source was in the loose, the diffident, the over-cautious theory of Empire relationship on which we have hitherto acted. The theory has been that Britain's foreign affairs are for Britain alone to decide: that the Dominions are to be consulted only in the event of an intense emergency—such as might drive even the most reserved of Englishmen in his private business to resort to a friendly neighbour, and that to offer advice unless or until thus solicited would be an act of Dominion intrusiveness.

No doubt this theory, like many another, has been much modified of late years in practice. Conferences have become far more frequent; even if they are still regarded as emergency measures, they may well be multiplied with the recent grim multiplication of emergencies. But such remains the theory, and when a Prime Minister of Britain addresses us all on a radio broadcast with the introductory announcement "London calling the Empire", we are still startled by the thought of some altogether exceptional crisis requiring so exceptional a measure. There is indeed something admirable in all this: the rule that bids us mind our own business, especially when our own business is more than enough to employ all our talent, is a rule which promotes both harmony and efficiency. But it involves a corresponding risk: those who do not understand each other's affairs or share each other's confidence in normal times will be of far less help to each other in time of crisis than they might be if there had been earlier co-operation. Differences of interest may have developed inadvertently into competition or even into antagonism. Energy may be lost, and time. The preparations for mutual help, which it would have been natural and easy to make in advance, may have to be improvised with much wastage and many a blunder when the danger becomes suddenly intense. I need not point out how our experience of hastily improvised war equipment has illustrated this.

Cannot you hear the subtle mocking voice of Joachim von Ribbentrop as he encouraged Adolf Hitler with assurances of the signs he had everywhere seen—as ambassador to London, as commercial agent in Canada: signs of an Empire whose concerns were so various that its members kept only nominal cohesion, knowing so little and caring so little in far-distant Dominions about the vital necessities of British foreign policy that it would be far too late, if the German Reich used its strength and its speed, to develop over the vast but discordant British Commonwealth either the knowledge or the machinery for effective resistance? There is not, I think, the slightest doubt that grave consequences followed from the trust which adolf Hitler reposed in Ribbentrop's penetrating knowledge of British Empire psychology. It was less penetrating, less reliable by far than either he himself or his Fuehrer supposed it to be. But the consequences of the delusion were tragic. My plea is for a new Empire method by which such sinister myth of our incoherence will be made harder to impose even upon wishful enemy thinkers again.

III

What are the objections to this proposal of a unified Commonwealth policy in foreign affairs? I have seen three:

(i) That it would mean return to the hated practice known as "Colonialism".

(ii) That it is needless, because its purpose is already served by frequent Conferences between the Government of Great Britain and the Governments of each Dominion.

(iii) That it would be dangerous at least to Canada because of our geographical situation of neighbourhood to the United States on one side and to Soviet Russia on another.

Let us look at these objections in turn.

Would it be "return to Colonialism"? Nothing surely could be further from the truth than that. The essence of Colonialism was to keep what we now call a Dominion in constant docile subservience to control from London, while it is the essense of this project to equip the Dominions with the right and the power of influencing decisions of policy for Great Britain. Resentment at the impairing in this way of British prestige has much more plausible ground than any fear of compromising Dominion rights. The truth is that here would be indeed the further fulfilment of Canning's dream about the entrance of the New World to repair the injustices of the Old.

Is the practice of Conferences, a practice which we are told has increased rapidly of recent years, a satisfying alternative? That is to say, is it enough that from time to time, as British Governments judge advisable, the Dominions be called in for consultation on special points, while the ultimate policy remains one for which the British Government alone is responsible? I find it hard indeed to understand haw anyone can feel that such practice has justified itself by experience as sufficient. Such cases as Abyssinia, the Civil War in Spain, the rape of Czechoslovakia come to mind; one wonders that any observer can continue to justify the method of which these cases were the reflections. To offer advice when another chooses to ask for it is one thing: quite a different thing is the constant care of a partner, with the acknowledged right and the acknowledged responsibility of constant watchfulness. "Conference" is a name we fitly use of the exchange of ideas at a time of crisis between Britain and foreign Powers. Something more intimate surely should mark British intercourse with the King's Dominions overseas, if they are to share, as no foreign Power will share, the sacrificial obligation for carrying a policy into effect.

But perhaps, for Canada at least, the peculiarities of geographical position interpose an obstacle? Alarm has been expressed lest Russia or the United States might some time quarrel with Britain, and might include this country, so perilously exposed to immediate action, as automatically an enemy. It seems to be argued that in order to avoid this risk we must be careful to keep Canada so separate in position as to leave Russia or the United States, if quarrel should arise with Britain, in doubt regarding the attitude which Canada would take. For our safety, it is said, we must not suffer such independence to be compromised, as it would be if we shared in framing the British foreign policy which led to strain abroad.

How much is there in this fear? Is it seriously supposed that if we refrain from rendering clear and explicit what every observer of affairs must know to be the very heart of our Commonwealth relationship, we shall make any difference except a difference of lowered efficiency in what we set out to do? Does our safety depend on keeping our Commonwealth partnership apparently fitful and occasional? If we cannot advance beyond this loose and precarious association within the Commonwealth itself, what chance is there for some of those schemes for wider international association on which high hopes have been placed? Britain looks forward to continuous post-war partnership with her Russian and American allies in maintaining the world's peace. Many times we have been assured that instead of the old, constantly suspicious mood of preserving "balance of power" the Allies in this terrific struggle for freedom must trust one another for co-operation in its joint guardianship. Are we to begin such new era by reaffirming balance of power in such a form as was never before entertained, disclosing to our Russian and American allies that Canada and Great Britain are not even sure enough of each other to establish such scheme of constant mutual consultation on matters of common danger as they have been so quick to recommend for adoption among independent sovereign States? Finally, if this difficulty be a serious one, what becomes of the plea I noticed a moment ago that to all intents and purposes the long established Conference habit ensures united Commonwealth action? If this is true, can we suppose our Russian and American Allies to be unaware that we are accomplishing without acknowledgment what it would be too perilous to venture openly? Would those allies find our Commonwealth co-operation unobjectionable only so long as its method was kept less efficient and more wasteful than the introduction of system instead of accident might render it? The objections I have distinguished as second and third thus seem to refute each other.

IV

Let me sum up. The question, as I see it, for the British Commonwealth emerging from the Second World War is this: Are we satisfied to preserve the studiously undefined mutual relationship of Dominions and Mother Country on foreign policy which we have hitherto known? Or has experience of two terrifice emergencies suggested improvement that may help to prevent a possible third? We have in the past been content to make limitless sacrifice and to carry limitless burden for a British foreign policy which we had no real hand in shaping. Are we content that this should continue? Or do we feel that we might so influence British foreign policy as to reduce need for such future burdens and sacrifices? In the past, twice within a single generation, at least one contributing cause of war—one cause by which the enemies of Great Britain were encouraged to attack her—was the belief that the British Dominions were so unconcerned for her interests, so remote if not actually hostile in purpose, as to be negligible in a forecast of comparative fighting strength. Are we willing to leave that tragic misconception a change to operate again?

I mentioned at the outset of this address three men who have been moved by experience to propound a new scheme of unity for defence of the democracies. Lord Davies, in his plan for what he called "the New Commonwealth", would federate the free nations, setting up an international police force. Field-Marshal Smuts advances a project for making the British Commonwealth so much more comprehensive and elastic in constitution as to induce the democracies of continental Europe to accept membership within it. Both these reformers had been anticipated by Mr. Clarence Streit, in the famous book entitled *Union Now*. Different as the projects are in detail, they are alike in principle and in motive. They urge us to face the plain fact that unless we organize collective security on a new plan, the world will pass from war to war of ever increasing horror. They press upon us the tragic folly of trusting again in the ingenuities of so-called "balance of Power", for which we have no ground whatever to expect anything better from the diplomacy of the future than the inferno to which it has led us through the diplomacy of the past. But in this talk I have not referred to anything on a scale so vast as the proposals of Lord Davies, of Field-Marshal Smuts, of Mr. Clarence Streit. The plea I have made is for a closer, a more explicit, a more rapidly acting unity within the British Empire. It might well lead to extension, wider and deeper, if it justified itself by trial. But, to begin with, it would involve no hard and fast constitutional commitment. Just what Lord Halifax has aptly called a design for the "unison of many voices" in the great common cause.

It is recorded of the Emperor Augustus that he declined to use the traditional formula of Roman patriotism: he refused to pray that the gods would increase and magnify the power of Rome, praying instead that the gods would enable Romans to preserve a power quite great enough already. A like misgiving may well haunt the mind of a British leader about many a motto or slogan of further national ambition. In proportion as one realizes the responsibilities of vast power, one may hesitate at A. C. Benson's prayer for the British Commonwealth "God Who made thee mighty, make thee mightier yet". Not for further material expansion, for wider territory, for richer trade, for more dominance of any kind over those whom it may please a national self-consciousness to call "subject races"! At his moment of highest inspiration the great Victorian poet of Embide bade his countrymen abjure all this: bade them, in the name of their true imperial purpose, to put from them

Such boastings as the Gentiles use
And lesser breeds without the law.

But there is a British achievement, an achievement of Britain's past, which we may rightly desire to see become ever wider and deeper. Not flawlessly, not without lapse, but on the whole genuinely, she has promoted fairness, justice, mercy in international dealings. In the present struggle, when this high cause has been at stake as never before in the rivalries of mankind, she has led the hosts of freedom, her courage reanimating the feeble, her resolution never failing when for two terrible years, against enormous odds and abandoned by allies, she had to fight alone. "Last night", wrote a great Englishman in a recent autobiography, "I listened to a Pole describing what the Germans had done in Poland; I prayed that my countrymen might have strength to do God's errand on the wicked, and that I might live a little longer to see it done". When it has been done, as it is now plainly being done, the stern enterprize of battle so fitly called "God's errand" in which the Dominions are bearing so notable a part, there will remain a further gigantic challenge to the resources of British leadership. The international scheme will have to be redrawn, in the light of terrible experience, to establish peace, of which justice is the foundation and strength in those true to justice is the guarantee. To fulfil that great destiny, to share to the utmost the burden, the sacrifice, the responsibilities of remaining thus in the vanguard of the cause—such is the true imperialism by which the Empire may pray to be united and more. In crisis after crisis she has intervened—twice on a great scale within a single generation—to rescue the world's justice from fearful peril. The Dominions have been at her side. My plea to you this afternoon has been for a policy, based on experience, which will ensure quicker, stronger, more efficient guardianship against such perils still ahead. "Wide still and wider", says the poet, "may thy bounds be set". We are far from sure that we want for the Empire more territory: it has rather been British practice of late to withdraw from territories previously ruled, that native powers might be developed in the exercise of native control. But the poet's other prayer must be echoed by all lovers of freedom who recognize where freedom in its most dire emergency found championship, and like every genuine prayer, it should inspire those who offer it to co-operate for its fulfilment: *"God, Who made thee mighty, make thee mightier yet."* (Prolonged applause.)

MR. HUMPHREYS: We were invited to think on this serious matter. I think, Dr. Stewart, the applause you have just received expressed our thanks and appreciation of your contribution to our thinking.

Now, gentlemen, if you will bear with us for a moment longer, I think our President-Elect would like to speak to you. But first let me read the telegram which, in accordance with the resolution passed at last week's (April 20th) meeting, was sent to the Secretary of State:

> "The following resolution was passed unanimously by the members of The Empire Club of Canada at their regular weekly meeting today. The Empire Club of Canada respectfully requests His Excellency the Governor General to present to Her Royal Highness the Princess Elizabeth through Their Majesties the King and Queen expressions of congratulation and best wishes upon the occasion of her eighteenth birthday.
>
> "The members of The Empire Club of Canada reaffirm their allegiance and devotion to the Crown and Person of the Sovereign, their humble duty and deep affection towards Her Majesty and acknowledge with highest admiration the noble example of Their

> Majesties in these troublous times, representing as it does all that is finest and most glorious in British history and tradition."

We have since received the following acknowledgment from the Department of the Secretary of State:

> "Ottawa, April 21, 1944.
>
> "I duly received your telegram of the 20th instant conveying, on behalf of The Empire Club of Canada, a message of congratulation to Her Royal Highless, the Princess Elizabeth, and of loyalty to Their Majesties, the King and Queen, on the occasion of the birthday of Her Royal Highness.
>
> "In accordance with your request, the text of this message has been brought to the attention of the appropriate authorities.
>
> (Signed) E. H. Coleman,
> Under-Secretary of State."

Besides Mr. Conquergood now being President-Elect, today, I believe, is his birthday—so we present him with a sort of birthday present, in the form of the Presidency. Mr. Conquergood:

Mr. C. R. Conquergood: Gentlemen: I think you will probably admit this Club has, as your Past President has said, an important duty. No man could, I think, assume the Presidency of this Club unless he were conscious of its responsibilities, particularly in these important times. I want to say that I could not assume the Presidency were it not for this duty, and for the fine Executive who will serve with me. I hope we will have the assistance and support of every member of the Club. I know you would wish me, on your behalf, to tender our most hearty thanks to Mr. W. Eason Humphreys, who has so successfully guided the affairs of this season.

"WAR AIMS AS SEEN FROM GREAT BRITAIN"

AN ADDRESS BY

MOST REVEREND AND RIGHT HONOURABLE
CYRIL FOSTER GARBETT,
ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

Chairman:
The Retiring President, Mr. W. Eason Humphreys.

Tuesday, May 2, 1944.

MR. HUMPHREYS: Your Grace, Gentlemen of The Empire Club and Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen of the radio audience: You remember Kipling's line: "Or walk with kings nor lose the common touch". With some humility, yet justifiable pride, The Empire Club is today greatly honoured to be host to a great man—a man so well described by Kipling: The Most Reverend and Right Honourable Cyril Foster Garbett, Archbishop of York.

We are proud to be even a small part of the great mission embarked upon by His Grace, not only in North America, but, as is well known, elsewhere, a mission to draw the Church of England closer to sister churches across the seas.

His Grace occupies an exalted ecclesiastical position, but does so only after working many long years with the people—people whose life and circumstances are the least fortunate in material matters, although the Battle of Britain has proved them very rich in spirit.

For upwards of forty years, our guest worked with and worked for the people of Portsmouth, then with those in prisons as His Majesty's Prison Chaplain, and later in South London's dense slum area as Bishop of Southwark. Then Dr. Garbett became Bishop of Winchester. It was in 1942 that our guest was appointed to the ancient Bishopric of York and installed as Primate of England.

Among the many books written by His Grace are these: *The Call to Christians, The Challenge of the Slums, In the Heart of South London, Secularism and Christian Unity, The Church and Modern Problems.*

Your Grace, we welcome you on this your first visit to Canada, albeit a most strenuous one, in the cause to which I have referred. Gentlemen: The Most Reverend and Right Honourable Cyril Foster Garbett, Archbishop of York.

HIS GRACE: Mr. President and Gentlemen: I am most grateful to you for the very warm welcome you have given me and for the honour you have conferred upon me in asking me to address this, one of the most famous Clubs in the British Empire.

I am indeed glad to be able at last to visit Canada. We owe to you all a very great debt of gratitude, and the Mother Country sends to you the utmost affection knowing that the present ordeal through which we are passing has drawn us closer one to another.

I propose to speak to you about our war aims as seen from Great Britain. A different emphasis has been placed on our war aims at different periods of the war. Throughout we have held to the same purpose, but the emphasis, as events progressed, has been different.

We went into the war with the very simple and straightforward purpose of saving the freedom of Europe. Statesmen might say we went into the war so as to preserve some balance of power, or that we know that sooner or later Germany would turn her attack upon us, but to the great majority of the ordinary people of Great Britain there was one purpose and one purpose alone in going into the war, and that was to arrest the advance of a cruel tyranny and to preserve freedom among the peoples of Europe. The ordinary man in the street was quite convinced that a stand had to be made against the aggressiveness of Germany. The man in the street had learned to hate the cruelty of Germany, not only towards the smaller nations surrounding her but also towards the minorities in her midst.

And so, when the challenge came, the whole nation was united in response to it. There was no difference of opinion in the nation as a whole. Never had the nation been more united than when war broke out in 1939.

But after Dunkirk the emphasis was somewhat different on our war aims. We had not realized fully how powerful our enemy was, nor did the majority of us feel that our country would be in any acute danger, but after Dunkirk it became plain that there was imminent danger of invasion. Some of us know that we were practically unarmed. The whole nation at once began to prepare to resist invasion. We then laid the stress not so much on the freedom of mankind as on defending our own country, on self-preservation, on survival. Those months were indeed very remarkable. I think that one of the greatest decisions ever made in the history of the British Commonwealth was the decision that though we were alone we should continue the war. (Applause.) We had and we have the great war leader, Mr. Winston Churchill! (Applause.) I shall never forget hearing that speech of his—I was in the Gallery of the House of Commons and was able to hear it—when he proclaimed that if need be we would go on fighting alone, and that we would fight on our beaches, in our lanes, in our fields, but we would not surrender!" And in that utterance he was voicing the opinions not only of Great Britain but of the whole of the British Commonwealth throughout the world. (Applause.)

We set ourselves to prepare to resist invasion. There came into existence the Home Guard. Our villages barricaded themselves with wires, blocks put across the roads. Ditches were dug in every kind of direction. Everyone wanted to do something. But during those days of strain and anxiety I can never remember ever hearing anyone speaking of the possibility of defeat. We were convinced that we should be able to repel the invader, and we were convinced that even if he did make a landing before long we should be able to reject it. During that period the stress of the war aims was laid on Survival—the Defence of our Country.

But when the immediate danger passed away and the war went on and we heard more and more of the conditions of the people in the countries which had been occupied by Germany, another war aim made itself heard, and that was the war aim of Liberation—of the Liberation of the Peoples of Europe, who are now groaning under the tyranny of the Nazis. It is difficult to realize I think how terrible that tyranny is. We all of us have heard of the German atrocities: they have been appalling. The treatment of the Jews has been a crime unparalleled in the history of mankind. And that is true of the deliberate cruelty perpetrated on nation after nation, especially on the people of Poland.

But quite apart from these glaring and awful atrocities, there has been the day-by-day oppression of these countries. She deliberately limits their food. If more food was sent in, it would merely mean that Germany would reduce the ration she has laid down for these countries, and while there is not actual starvation, in many of these countries there is semi-starvation. Great hunger. Millions literally, millions of children are suffering from under nourishment. And in addition there is the horror of enforced labour. Tens of thousands have been carried away from their homes so as to labour in Germany at the behest of their tyrant.

There are millions in Europe who today are groaning under this tyranny. In various underground ways they are resisting the tyranny. They are ready to rise the moment the great invasion starts. But meantime we must keep clearly before ourselves that one of the war aims which has become more evident in recent years is the war aim of Liberation, of liberating Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, the occupied parts of Russia, Belgium, France, Holland and all the other countries, rescuing them from the horror of Nazi oppression. And that of course is true of the countries which are now oppressed and treated with such appalling brutality by the Japanese in the Pacific.

But now, more recently, stress has been laid on another war aim, and that is the Building up of a New Order when Peace Comes. In Great Britain all classes are talking of and discussing the New Order which they hope may be created when the guns cease firing. There is the desire for the New Order at home. The Prime Minister has expressed this in the watchword of "Work, Food and Homes for All!" We are beginning to plan on the lines of the Beveridge report, and on the lines of other important commissions which have recently issued their reports. We are looking forward to a better and more just social order within Great Britain. It is not a revolutionary movement. We are not revolutionary people, as you know quite well, but we do desire to see carried through various social reforms so that the citizens of the country, irrespective of birth or wealth, may have the fullest opportunity of making the best of their lives. (Applause.)

But we recognize quite clearly that we can not have these social reforms at home unless there is a better international order. While there hangs over us the menace of war, and while nations have to spend enormous sums of money on rearmament, it will be impossible for them to carry out the reforms which are so urgently desired in their own country. We are all feeling the necessity, the absolute necessity of preventing from recurring again, the appalling insecurity in which the world was living during the ten years before the outbreak of war. That insecurity was a menace, that insecurity brought unhappiness and uncertainty to millions, and we are determined that no effort shall be spared to secure a peace which will bring to us not only momentary security but a security which abides for generations and which substitutes law for violence and justice for force in the dealings between the various nations. (Applause.)

Now when we speak of this, of creating a new world in which there is peace, those of who went through the last war are inclined often to be skeptical. They say—and they say not unnaturally—"We have heard all this before: we shall soon, after the first flush of victory, drift back into the old ways." Now we did meet with a great deal of disillusionment and disappointment after the last war. I think there were some definite reasons for that. Let me give you three or four.

The first was that the League of Nations was not a practical instrument for preserving the peace of the world. Now I saw this as one who has been a very strong supporter of the League of Nations and who recognizes fully the splendid work which the League has done in various directions. But the League was not the practical instrument for maintaining peace. It did not have force behind it—the unanimity which was required of all its members, made any decisions almost impossible, and the great nations of the world were not really heart and soul behind the League; and when there arose any crisis in the affairs of nations Geneva became a hot bed of intrigue and rumours of all sorts and kinds. Splendid as was the work done by the League in many directions, the League proved ineffective as an instrument of peace, and if we are to make any progress we have to recognize that quite frankly.

Then next, in the treaties of the past, there was no provision made for the revision of treaties. A treaty may be quite just or quite necessary at some special period, and then that treaty becomes out of date. It may have been expedient to make a treaty at one period. Ten years later that treaty may have in it revealed defects which were not suspected before. How then is that treaty to be revised? In all probability one country wishes the revision, writes note after note; its statesmen make speeches after speeches, and nothing happens. And so the disgruntled nation begins to arm, and to the reason appeal adds the threat of force.

If there is to be peace in the future some machinery must be devised which will enable treaties to be revised and changed without appeal to force.

Then the Treaty of Versailles had one great fundamental defect running through it. I should be quite prepared to defend many of its political provisions. On the whole, its political terms were sensible and reasonable, but it paid hardly any attention to economics, and it largely broke down through the failure of the framers of that treaty to recognize how important, how vast a part is played by economics in modern world history. And any treaty in the future will have to be made by men who take into the fullest consideration the economic condition of the world and the economic policies of the nations. Unless economic policies are taken into fullest consideration, a treaty, however excellent it may be on the political side, will soon be discovered to have been built upon sand and will be swept away at the next serious economic crisis.

But there was another and I think even more fundamental reason why we failed to preserve peace. The peace-loving peoples of the world were not really prepared to make sufficient sacrifices for peace. We made great speeches about peace. We denounced war. We signed endless pacts. We passed pious resolutions. We, all of us, declared that we loved peace. We were hipnotizing ourselves by our wishful thinking, not noticing, or refusing to notice, that only a few hundred miles away nations were arming to the teeth, ready to make their attack at the moment most convenient for themselves. It was unpopular to speak of rearmament. We hoped to keep the peace of the world by pious phrases. And more than that, very frequently resolutions were passed—I don't know about your country, I am speaking of Great Britain—resolutions were passed which gave the impression that they would accept any kind of injustice rather than fight to defend what would be honourable and right, and the result was that the aggresive nations came to the conclusion that there was no risk of war.

I am quite certain, though I am a lover of peace, a lover of peace by my profession and by conviction, I am quite certain that in an imperfect world you can not have peace unless force is used or force is ready to repress the aggressor. (Applause.) Within the nation, behind the laws there is force to be used if necessary—our police forces exist for that purpose—and the more certain the action of that force the less likely is it that the law will be broken. And the same is true of the international world. There is nothing wrong in force in itself. People sometimes speak as if there was something evil in force. That is mere confused illogical thinking. Force can be used evilly and force can be used rightfully. The judgment you pass on force must depend on the way in which force is used. It can be used and has been used horribly for the sake of tyranny, but force can be used for the preservation of freedom throughout the human race.

So therefore I am sure we have got to face the fact that in the imperfect world which will confront us after the war we must be ready to suppress aggressor nations if need be through force. To speak of peace without force is merely to speak of a dream in the present world. I remember that convinced pacifist, Lord Allen of Hurtwood, who in the past war had been imprisoned more than once as a conscientious objector. I remember him saying to me when we were re-arming, that this re-armament of Great Britain was bringing the first hope to the smaller nations of the world for they knew that we would use our force to protect them from losing their freedom.

But now how is this force to be used? There are various schemes. 'There are of course some who believe that any one nation might be strong enough to keep the peace of the world. Well, there were days, I don't mind saying it though it may be old-fashioned to say so—there were days, glorious days, when the British Empire through its fleet kept the peace of the world. (Applause.) Those days are gone and will never come back again, and I don't believe that any nation will ever by itself be strong enough to keep the peace of mankind. If such a nation were strong enough to do this, it would be at the price of guns always instead of butter for its own people, and it might use its power tyranically over the other nations.

There are others who draw attractive blueprints of a Federation of Nations of the World, all the nations united together in a great federation, a Parliament of Mankind. Well that may be possible in the future, and I know how attractive some of these schemes are, but I doubt very much if such wide-reaching schemes will be practical for many generations to come. I doubt if nations which are enjoying their independence will care to hand over so much of their independence to an international body. You can't draw a clear and cut line between foreign politics and home politics in these days. Again and again they cross one another.

I think we must proceed along lines which are sensible, but which I believe will be much more effective. I believe the greatest hope lies in the continued co-operation in the days of peace of the three great Allies, the British Commonwealth, the United States and Russia, and if these three great powers can work together for the peace of the world we shall do more to secure peace than these many other attractive schemes would ever do, even if they were partially carried into effect.

I mean that these three great powers would have to consult with one another when the peace of the world was threatened, and these three powers would have to agree together if any nation attempted by force to gain its will.

I mention these three great powers,—the British Commonwealth with its dominions and dependencies united under the Crown; I mention the United States, a great freedom-loving people; I mention Russia which has such boundless resources at its disposal and which is fighting so heroically against the Nazis. I mention these three because at the end of the war for some time to come, these three will undoubtedly be the most powerful of all the nations. We look forward to China taking her place in due course among the great nations. Her heroism has been magnificent. We looks forward to the restoration of Europe and France. Europe and the world will be imperfect if France is not restored. We look forward to other nations gradually recovering their strength, and one by one taking their place in the great alliance which will originally be formed by the three great powers. But meantime under the shield of these three great powers, economic co-operation and co-operation in other directions, will be fostered and encouraged, so that the nations learn increasingly to trust one another, to rely on one another, until at last co-operation becomes the natural way instead of bitter rivalry, which may break out into war, which again rends the human race.

It may be premature to talk of this co-operation continuing into the days of peace between these three great powers, but I believe that is the way of fellowship, and out of that there will eventually come a much larger fellowship and agreement between all the nations, through which peace will be secured.

I am speaking to you of course not as a statesman or politician. I am neither. I am speaking to you as a Christian, a Christian who definitely believes that it is God's will that all nations should live under the one Father, each nation having its own independence, each nation enabled in peace to make its special contribution to the building up of the life of the whole family. It is my belief in the fatherhood of God and in the fellowship of nations which makes me so passionately eager to see the nations of the world work together in the greatest possible harmony. But—and this is my last observation—as we all must recognize that all these hopes of fellowship and co-operation and security in the future will come to nothing unless Germany and Japan are completely and utterly defeated. (Applause.) We in Great Britain stand for complete victory. There is no talk on the part of any responsible person of a negotiated peace. The great mass of the people are not anxious for a negotiated peace. They want to see this horrible tyrany in the East and the West broken, smashed entirely, and we know that in the days to come we shall be called upon, as you will be called upon, to suffer great sacrifices. The citadel of Europe will not be conquered without tremendous effort and heavy losses, but we shall be prepared to endure these losses and to bear these sufferings if we have clearly before us our great war aims—Freedom, Security, Liberation, and a New International Order, in which the nations dwell together in peace and justice. (Applause.)

His Grace, Archbishop D. T. Owen, Primate of All Canada, tendered the thanks of the audience to the speaker for his inspiring address.

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA, TORONTO, ONTARIO
THE ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENT

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30TH APRIL, 1944

Cash on hand and in banks as at 30th April, 1943					$1,157.68
RECIEPTS					
Membership Fees			$4,353.00		
Interest:					
On Investment		$32.50			
On Savings Account		23.49			
			55.99		
Sale of Year Books			49.00		
Donation			30.00		
				$4,487.99	
PAYMENTS					
Luncheon Expenses		$5,789.25			
Less:					
Sale of Tickets:					
By Outside Agencies	$4,635.00				
By Secretary	791.00				
		5,426.00			
			$ 363.25		
Printing, Postage and Stationery			2,832.47		
Recording and Publicity			52.30		
Honoraria:					
Secretary		$ 600.00			
Treasurer		199.97			
			799.97		
Speakers' Fees and Expenses			327.30		
Miscellaneous Expenses			16.83		
Telephone and Telegraph			190.26		
				4,582.38	
Excess of Payments over Receipts					94.39
Cash on Hand and in Bank as at 30th April, 1944					$1,063.29

We report that we have examined the books and accounts of The Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Ontario, for the year ended 30th April, 1944, and have obtained all the information and explanations we have required and that, in our opinion, the above statement shows correctly the Receipts and Payments of the Club for the year ended 30th April, 1944.

In addition to the cash balance of $1,063.29, the Club holds $1,000.00 Dominion of Canada ¼% First War Loan Bonds due 1st February, 1948-52.

As at 30th April, 1944, the Club was committed to publish the 1943-44 Year Book at an estimated cost of $1,400.00.

H. T. JAMIESON & COMPANY,
Chartered Accountants,
Honorary Auditors.

Toronto, Ontario.
16th June, 1944.

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

PAST HONORARY PRESIDENTS:

*1903-1912	Rt. Hon. Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, G.C.M.G., LL.D., D.C.L.
*1913-1926	Field Marshal H.R.H. The Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, K.G., G.C.M.G.
*1927-1931	Rt. Hon. Viscount Willingdon, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G.
1931-1935	Rt. Hon. The Earl of Bessborough, P.G., G.C.M.G.
*1935-1940	Rt. Hon. Lord Tweedsmuir, G.C.M.G., C.H.

PAST PRESIDENTS:

*1902-05	Brig.-Gen. James Mason
*1905-06	Rev. William Clark, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L.
*1906-07	J. P. Murray, Esq.
1907-08	J. F. M. Stewart, Esq., B.A.
*1908-09	D. J. Goggin, Esq., M.A., D.C.L.
1909-10	Elias Clouse Esq., M.D.
*1910-11	J. Castell Hopkins, Esq., F.R.S.
1911-12	F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, Esq., K.C.
*1912-13	Rt. Rev. James F. Sweeney, M.A., D.D., D.C.L.
*1913-14	Mr. Justice James Craig
*1914-15	Lt.-Col. R. J. Stuart
*1915-16	Albert Ham, Esq., Musc. Doc.
*1916-17	James Black Perry, Esq.
*1917-18	Norman Sommerville, Esq., M.A., K.C.
1918	F. J. Coombs, Esq.
1919	R. A. Stapells, Esq.
*1920	Arthur Hewitt, Esq.
*1921	Brig. Gen. C. H. Mitchell, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., LL.D.
*1922	Sir William Hearst, K.C.M.G., K.C., LL.D.
1923	Ellis H. Wilkinson, Esq.
1924	William Brooks, Esq.
*1925	Rev. R. N. Burns, D.D.
1926	Col. A. E. Kirkpatrick, Hon. A.D.C., V.D.
*1927	Col. Alexander Fraser, LL.D., A.D.C.
1928	Robert H. Fennell, Esq., K.C.
*1929	Hugh S. Eayrs, Esq.
*1930	John D. Spence, Esq., B.A., K.C.
1931	H. G. Stapells, Esq., K.C.
1932-33	Lt.-Col. Geo. A. Drew, V.D., A.D.C.
1933-34	Major W. Jas. Baxter, M.C.
1934-35	Dana H. Porter, Esq.
1935-36	J. H. Brace, Esq.
1936-37	Major G. B. Balfour, B.A., K.C.
1937-38	Major R. M. Harcourt
1938-39	J. P. Pratt, Esq., K.C.
1939-40	F. A. Gaby, Esq., B.A.Sc., D.Sc.
1940-41	The Honourable G. Howard Ferguson, P.C. (Can.), K.C.
1941-42	C. R. Sanderson, Esq., M.A., B.Sc.
1942-43	John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.

* Deceased

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

Officers and Executive Committee

Year 1944-1945

President: C. R. Conquergood, Esc.
First Vice-President: F. L. Clouse, Esq.
Second Vice-President: Tracey E. Lloyd, Esq.
Third Vice-President: S. J. Andrews, Esq.
Secretary: H. C. Bourlier, Esq.
Treasurer: W. W. Comber, Esq., C.A.
Honorary Auditor: H. T. Jamieson, Esq., F.C.A.

Executive Committee:

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E. J. Bennett, Esq., F.C.A.
Robert A. Bryce, Esq.
Hector Charlesworth, Esq.
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F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, Esq., K.C.
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Gordon Janes, Esq.
Gordon Jones, Esq.
J. P. Pratt, Esq., K.C.
Eric F. Thompson, Esq.
Lt.-Col. H. C. Tutte.

Immediate Past President:

W. Eason Humphreys, Esq.

Past Presidents:

Major Gordon B. Balfour.
Major R. M. Harcourt.
Dr. F. A. Gaby.

CONSTITUTION

INSTITUTED 1903

THE OBJECT OF THE CLUB IS THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF CANADA AND A UNITED EMPIRE

Organization of the Club and Branches

Art. 1.—(1) The organization shall be called The Empire Club of Canada.

(2) Branches of the Club may be established with the authority of the Executive Committee, and subject to such conditions and regulations as may from time to time be decided upon by the Club in Toronto.

(3) A committee may be appointed under the provisions of sub-section 2, article 1, for the establishment of branches of the Club, and the word "Unit" shall denote a Branch.

Classes of Members

Art. 2.—The Membership of the Club shall consist of

(a) Active Resident Members,
(b) Non-Resident Members,
(c) Life Members,
(d) Honorary Members,
(e) Associate Members.

All members must be of the full age of sixteen years, and members of classes (a), (b), (c) and (d), must be British subjects.

Active Resident, Non-Resident and Associate Members

Art. 3.—(1) Candidates for Active Resident, Non-Resident and Associate Membership shall be proposed and seconded by two members of the Club in good standing, and shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meetitng of the Executive Committee.

(2) Subject to sub-section 4 of this article active resident and associate members shall pay an annual fee of $4.00 and non-resident members $3.00, payable on the first day of October in each year in respect of the Club year from May 1 to April 30 then current. Payment of such fees shall entitle each member to receive a copy of the Year Book. No member in arrears for fees or dues shall be considered in good standing or be eligible for office.

(3) Associate members shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

(4) Members whose applications for membership are received after the first day of April in any year shall pay one annual fee only in respect of the period from that time till the 30th day of April in the following calendar year.

Life Members

Art. 4.—(1) Life Members, not exceeding ten in any one year, may be elected from time to time, at an open meeting of the Club, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee. Provided, however, that Ministers of the Federal Parliament and Premiers of the different Provinces of the Dominion of Canada may be eligible for election at any time, even though their election may cause the number of Life Members to exceed ten in one year.

(2) Life Members shall pay a fee of $50.00 in one sum.

Art. 5.—(1) Honorary Members may be elected upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee, and at a general meeting of the Club.

(2) Honorary Members shall be exempt from the payment of fees, but shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

Officers to be Elected

Art. 6.—(1) The officers of the Club shall consist of an Honorary President; a President; First, Second and Third Vice-President; a Treasurer; a Secretary, or a Secretary-Treasurer; the Executive Committee shall consist of these officers and 17 other members who with the officers shall be elected by ballot, and of the ex-officio members hereinafter mentioned. All Past Presidents shall constitute an Advisory Council under the Chairmanship of the immediate Past President and such ex-officio members of the Executive Committee for the ensuing year.

Election of Officers

(2) The Election of Officers of the Club shall take place at a general meeting of the members, to be held not later than April 30 of each year, at a date to be decided upon by the Executive Committee, and this meeting shall be deemed to be the Annual Meeting. The officers and Executive Committee then elected shall hold office till April 30 of the following year, and thereafter until their successors respectively have been duly elected and installed. A committee to nominate the officers for the new year shall be appointed at a regular or special meeting to be held not less than four, and not more than six weeks before such Annual Meeting, due notice of such meeting to be given to all members in good standing, and such committee shall report to the Annual Meeting; provided that no member shall be nominated to any office unless and until he has given notice in writing that he consents to such nomination and will act if elected to the position for which he has been nominated.

(3) Two Auditors shall be elected at each Annual Meeting.

Standing Committees

(4) Standing Committees shall be appointed as follows:

(a) Finance Committee.
(b) Speakers' Committee.
(c) Membership Committee.
(d) Constitution Committee.
(e) Luncheon and Reception Committee.
(f) Publicity Committee.
(g) Royal Colonial Institute Committee.

Filling of Vacancies Among Officers

Art. 7.—In the event of an office becoming vacant by death, resignation, or otherwise, the vacancy thus caused shall be filled by the Executive Committee and the person so chosen shall hold office until the next Annual Meeting.

Duties of Officers

Art. 8.—The duties of the officers shall be those customary to such positions in similar organizations.

Holding of Meetings

Art. 9.—(1) The Club shall hold general meetings weekly from October to May, both inclusive, in each twelve months with such intermission as from time to time may be decided upon.

(2) At the Annual Meeting a report of the year's proceedings and work shall be submitted by the President, and this report shall be accompanied by an interim report from the Treasurer. The Treasurer shall, in addition to the interim report presented at the Annual Meeting, present an audited statement of the finances of the Club for the full financial year at a regular meeting of the Club held during the month of May.

Notice of Meetings

Art. 10.—Written or printed notices of all meetings shall be given to the members of the Club. Such notices shall be sufficient if addressed to the members, and deposited post paid in the post office in Toronto.

Quorum at Meetings

Art. 11.—Fifteen members in good standing shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Club, general, annual or special, and the presiding officer shall have a casting vote. Six members shall form a quorum of the Executive Committee.

Limitation of Business at General Meetings

Art. 12.—No business other than the hearing of the addresses and notices of motion shall be introduced at any meeting of the Club, unless it has been submitted to the Executive Committee and received its approval.

Calling of Special Meetings

Art. 13.—Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called by the President, or on a requisition signed by three of its members. Special meetings of the Club may be called by the President, and shall be called by him on a requisition signed by twelve members and stating the object of the meeting. This object shall be stated in the notice calling the special meeting.

Financial Year

Art. 14.—The Financial Year of the Club shall begin on the first day of May in each year and end on the thirtieth day of April in the year following.

Amendments to Constitution

Art. 15.—This Constitution may be amended at the Annual Meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose, subject to a two thirds majority vote of the members present.

MEMBERS WITH HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES

(Carried as Honorary Members)

Aird, Lieut. W. H.
Armstrong, J. S. P.
Ashlin, C. H. N.
Beardsworth, H.
Bond, E. A.
Burgess, Major F. A.
Burnaby, F. Harding
Campbell, E. M.
Clarkson, R.
Crawford-Brown, Lyman
Crawford-Brown, Norman
Davis, Bruce P.
Dunlap, Lieut. D. M.
Fallis, Col. The Rev. Geo. O.
Gale, George T.
Gibson, Col. R. B.
Gilbert, C. A.
Gilmour, Lieut. Thos. W.
Grassett, Lieut.-Col. S. H. B., V.D.
Gundy, C. L.
Harcourt, Major R. M.
Hatch, Carr
Hills, Rev. William
Houghton, F/O E. O.
Johnston, Lieut.-Col. Baptist
Johnston, Erskine B.
Jolliffe, W. H.
Junkin, Major Lawrence
Lee, Flying Officer, H. T. I.
Massey, Squadron Ldr. Denton
Matthews, Flight Lieut. A. Beech
Matthews, Lieut. F. B.
Matthews, Flight Lieut. Paul W.
Morrow, Flight Lieut. Graham
Nash, Col. A. E., M.C.
Noyes, G. R. Finch
Nunn, Norman A.
Parker, Very Rev. Stuart C., D.D.
Parks, Arthur H.
Picard, Pilot Officer R. I. C.
Pickup, J. D.
Ruttan, Lieut.-Col. C. M.
Watson, Col. W. H.
Wilkes, Lt.-Col. F. Hilton
Wilson, Lieut. Hugh

LIFE AND HONORARY MEMBERS

Bickell, J. P.
Bruch, Hon. Dr. Herbert
Clouse, Dr. Elias
Cobham, Arthur H.
Coombs, F. J.
Fasken, Alex.
Ferguson, Hon. G. Howard
Fetherstonhaugh, F. B.
Geary, Major B. Handley, V.C.
Johnson, E. E.
MacKendrick, Col. W. G.
McWhinney, W. J., K.C.
Murdoch, Jas. Y., K.C., LL.D.
Scythes, J. A.
Stapells, H. G., K.C.
Stapells, R. A.
Stewart, J. F. M.
Tindall, H. B.

NON-RESIDENT MEMBERS

Baker, Robert P.
Beaumont, Arthur
Boyd, Mossom de G.
Boyd, Mossom deG.
Brace, J. H.
Bradley, Bruce H.

Bradley, E.
Cameron, Capt. J. Duncan
Cawthra-Elliott, Maj. Gen. H. M.
Davis, Aubrey
Dunlop, R. H.
Fraser, Alasdair D. R.
Hale, C. Harold
Hitchcock, C. H.
Hughes, Gordon R.
Hutcheson, Frank W.
Jackson, E. H.
Kidd, Hon. T. Ashmore
Leather, Harold H.
Linnell, A. P.
Livingston, J. A.
Lovell, E. A.
McCulley, Joseph
McIntosh, C. H.
McLaughlin, Col. R. S.
McLean, W. A.
Medland, C. R.
Over, Spencer Henry
Reaume, Mayor Arthur J.
Rice, H. E.
Richardson, Dr. R. N. C.
Ryan, John
Sanders, C. J.
Shergold, Lt.-Col. C.
Sinclair, Dr. D. J.
Steele, C. E.
Tudhope, John H.
Wideman, Harvey
Wood, Chester F.

RESIDENT MEMBERS

Abbs, Chas. E.
Adams, A. A.
Adams, G. W.
Adams, J. C.
Agar, Norman E.
Ahuja, M. R.
Alberts, Edgar T.
Alexander, John B.
Alexander, R. W.
Alexander, Samuel
Allen, Geo. H.
Allen, Thomas
Alley, B. P.
Ambrose, J. R. W.
Anderson, J. Murray
Andrews, S. J.
Angus, W. Harry
Appleton, C. N.
Archdekin, W. O.
Armour, Rev. J. B. M.
Armstrong, W. J.
Arnoldi, Colonel F. F.
Askin, R. J.
Atkinson, Fred
Atkinson, F. L.
Auerback, O.

Babbitt, G. W.
Babcock, Harold A.
Bain, George
Bain, H. R.
Bainard, R. H.
Baker, Col. E. A.
Baker, E. G.
Baker, Geo. A.
Baldwin, H. A.
Balfour, Gordon B., K.C.
Balfour, Keith C.
Ballard, B. W.
Band, Chas. S.
Barber, Geo.
Barber, William
Barbour, Royden M.
Bark, W. A.
Bartman, G. M.
Bate, Wm. B.
Batten, Reg. A.
Batten, W. Howard
Battle, Rex
Baxter, Major W. James
Bealey, Ernest R.
Beatty, Dr. Hy. A., M.R.C.S.
Beatty, W.
Bedford, Harold F.
Beeston, Geo. H.
Begg, Herbert
Bell, Dr. W. J.
Belyea, A. E.
Bennett, A. B.
Bennett, E. J.

Bennett, Norman D.
Benson, D. F.
Berkinshaw, N. W.
Berkinshaw, R. C.
Bernard, M.
Berry, N. T.
Best, T. W.
Bickle, E. W.
Bignell, T.
Birkenshaw, J. H.
Bishop, G.
Bishop, H. H.
Blackwell, H. W.
Blackwell, Hon. Leslie E.
Bland, Rev. Salem G.
Boase, J. B.
Bogart, Ernest, C., K.C.
Bogert, C. A.
Bolger, H. N.
Bomby, W. S.
Bond, Major F. L. C.
Bongard, Gordon R.
Bongard, R. R.
Bonnell, W. H. M.
Bourlier, H. C.
Bowman, Capt. Tom E.
Boxer, Reginald N.
Boyter, J. B.
Brathwaite, F. Y. W.
Bremner, Donald G.
Brindley, L. K.
Brittain, Horace L.
Brockett, Earle C.
Brockwell, Meredith R.
Brooke, Arthur T.
Brooks, W.
Brown, F. I.
Brown, Chancellor W. T.
Brown, Murray
Brown, Stuart B.
Brown, Stuart H.
Brown, W. E.
Browne, R. J.
Bryce, Very Rev. Peter, D.D.
Bryce, Robt. A.
Bryson, R. N.
Bull, Wm. Perkins, K.C.
Bunting, J. C., Jr.
Burgess, C. H.
Burgess, John H.
Burke, E. T. C.
Burns, H. D.
Burt, A. W.
Burton, C. L.
Burton, E. G.
Bush, Clayton E.
Butt, Dr. W. H.
Byrne, A. T.

Caffray, W. J.
Calvin, C. C.
Cameron, Harry
Cameron, W. A.
Campbell, Andrew
Campbell, Dr. Colin A.
Campbell, John L.
Capell, S. L.
Carl, Gordon A.
Carlisle, C. H.
Carnegie, F. T.
Carradus, Capt. H. R.
Carriere, S. W.
Carroll, Frank J.
Carruthers, Geo.
Carruthers, Geo. L.
Carson, James L.
Carter, F. H.
Carthy, Dr. W. C.
Cartwright, Brig. Gen. G. S.
Cass, Garfield
Cassidy, H. F.
Caulder, J. A.
Caven, Dr. W. R.
Chalmers, Floyd S.
Charles, Leo E.
Charlesworth, Hector
Chipman, J. H.
Chisholm, Lt.-Col. Geo. T.
Clark, C. C.
Clark, C. T.
Clark, John G.
Clark, Dr. Stanley K.
Clark, Dr. Wm. J.
Clarke, W. H.
Clarkson, G. T.
Cliff, Geo. J.
Clouse, F. L.
Cody, President H. J.
Coke, Major E. F.
Colberg, A. M.

Colby, S. A.
Cole, Joseph A.
Colebrook, H. G.
Coles, Kenneth
Collington, George E.
Comber, W. W.
Complin, Gordon
Conant, Hon. Gordon D., K.C.
Conquergood, Chas. R.
Coon, H. J.
Cooper, Ashton B.
Cooper, W. P.
Cork, J. Milton
Corlett, W. E.
Cormack, D. J.
Corrigan, Fred S.
Corson, R. R.
Cosgrave, Provost F. H.
Coste, E. F.
Cottrelle, Geo. R.
Coulter, J. E.
Coulter, W. C.
Coulter, W. Howard
Courtice, A. Roy
Coutts, Wm. E.
Cowan, F. W.
Cowan, Major R. Cecil
Cowper, J. A. G.
Craick, W. A.
Craig, C. Vernon
Craig, T. A.
Crang, J. H.
Cranstoun, John A.
Crawford, F. J.
Crawley, Charles E.
Creber, V. G.
Creighton, Arthur H.
Crighton, A. S.
Crockett, E.
Cross, Wm. B.
Crossin, H. W.
Crossingham, J. H.
Crowell, Samuel G.
Cudworth, W. O.

Daley, A. W.
Dallas, Rev. A. M.
Daly, Roland O.
Dargavel, R. B.
Dash, Douglas E.
Davies, J. E.
Davis, Bertram N.
Davis, George A.
Davis, Geo. D.
Davis, R. Reade
Davis, W. H.
Deacon, Col. F. H.
Dean, W. G.
Decker, Chester J.
Dent, C. R.
Dentay, E. G.
Detweiler, W O.
de Veber, L. S.
Dewar, A. M.
DeWitt, Prof. N. W.
Dickey, A. J.
Dilworth, W. A.
Dill, Geo. F.
Dingle, Major Gordon R. M.
Dix, Wm. B.
Dolson, Dr. Wilbur J. M.
Doran, F. C.
Douglas, Howard R.
Draimin, Charles
Drew, Lt.-Col. The Hon. Geo. A.
Duffett, Norman G.
DuMoulin, W. H.
Duncan, Jas. S.
Duncan, S. F.
Dunkelman, D.
Dunn, William
Durance, John J.
Durland, D. C.
Dutton, Thomas M.

Eastmure, A. W.
Eaton, Col. R. Y.
Eby, H. D.
Edmonds, C. E.
Edwards, A. Geoffrey
Edwards, H. Percy
Elgie, G. C.
Elkington, Percy W.
Ellen, R. R.
Elliot, B. V.
Elliott, Charles R.
Ellis, C. Q.
Ellis, Matthew T.
Ellsworth, Mr. A. L.

Elton, J. O.
Ely, E. F.
Entwistle, John S.
Ess, C. R.
Evans, R. G.
Evans, W. B.
Everett, Curtis T.
Ewing, Thos. H.

Faber, R. W.
Fairweather, R. H.
Falconer, H. W.
Fennell, Robert H.
Ferguson, A. B.
Ferguson, H. H.
Ferguson, H. M.
Ferguson, M.
Fessenden, C. V.
Firkins, Geo.
Firstbrook, Hugh M.
Fisher, D. B.
Fisher, Frank
Fitch, P. F.
Fleming, Donald M.
Fleming, G. O.
Fleming, Robert
Fletcher, S. S.
Flynn, J.
Forrester, Wm. J.
Fox, E. D.
Frame, S. J.
Frankel, Roy H.
Fraser, John A.
Freer, A. B.
French, George, M. D.
Freyseng, Edward J.
Frost, Harold R.
Fry, H.
Fulford, R. T.
Fyvie, J. M.

Gaby, Dr. Fred A.
Gadway, Bruce
Gairdner, J. A.
Gale, George C.
Gale, R. H.
Gardiner, F. G.
Gardiner, H. H.
Gardiner, Percy R.
Garrett, Albert H.
Gaunt, J. Wm.
Genovese, Frank A.
Gerow, Frank T.
Gianelli, Chevalier V.
Gibbons, O. T.
Gibson, D. H.
Gibson, R. M.
Gifford, W. M.
Gilchrist, Dr. A. J.
Gilchrist, Prof. Lachlan
Gilchrist, T. S.
Giles, T. S. H.
Gillespie, James
Gillespie, Wm.
Gillett, L. G.
Gilmour, A. H.
Glennie, Geo. H.
Goggin, Victor T.
Gohn, Byron E.
Goldberg, A. M. P.
Gooderham, E. D.
Gooderham, M. Ross, K.C.
Gooding, T. W.
Gordon, A. B.
Gordon, H. G.
Gordon, T. A.
Gordon, Wm. E.
Gould, J. Lyall S.
Gowdy, D. M.
Graham, Kingsley, K.C.
Grand, Percy F.
Grant, J. R.
Grant, W. G. F.
Grattan, William R. B.
Greaves, J. B.
Greenland, John E.
Gresham, G. E.
Graham, Kingsley, K.C.
Gribble, A. D.
Grier, A. Monro, K.C.
Grier, Sir Wyly
Grieve, John
Griffiths, F. D.
Grimbly, Maurice
Guest, A. E.
Gully, Harold M.
Gundy, J. H.
Gunn, Major General John A.

Hair, Dr. C. H.
Hall, I. C.
Hallman, Ivan
Ham, C. N.
Hambly, George
Hambourg, Boris
Hamilton, A. E.
Hamilton, C. S.
Hamilton, John
Hamilton, Leroy
Hamlin, Dr. Fred V.
Hammell, J. E.
Hanna, Wm. B.
Harbinson, V. D.
Hardy, George
Hardy, H. R.
Hargraft, W. M.
Harpham, Cecil
Harpham, Horace
Harris, Goodwin R.
Harris, Jos. H.
Harrison, James E.
Harrison, James F.
Harrison, Kenneth J.
Harrison, W. E.
Harton, E. Douglas
Harvey, Findlay
Harvey, Dr. W. J.
Hastings, C. E.
Hastings, Warren B.
Hawke, Eugene
Hawkins, V. S. G.
Hay, Frank
Hay, Ruthven
Hay, William G.
Hayden, Salter A.
Hayes, Barry B.
Haynes, Fred G.
Haynes, H. G.
Heintzman, Charles T.
Helliar, W. G.
Henderson, Robert
Hendrie, George C.
Henry, Hon. G. S.
Herbinson, Wm.
Herington, Gordon
Hermant, Percy
Hermant, Sydney
Herod, Wesley J.
Hethrington, Major E. A.
Hewetson, H. H.
Hewson, E. G.
Heymans, Phillippe
Higgins, Fred Page
Hill, F. W. J.
Hill, John D.
Hill, Dr. Lawrence R.
Hill, Roy C.
Hillmer, R. W.
Hoadley, Hon. Geo.
Hobkirk, John F.
Hoblitzell, Fred G.
Hogarth, D. M.
Hogg, Dr. T. H.
Holdsworth, John C.
Holliss, J. F.
Holmested, G. S.
Hooker, Edwin R. K.
Hookway, C. W.
Hooper, Col. B. O., D.S.O., M.C.
Hopkins, Dr. H. E.
Hopkins, Howard
Hopkins, Oliver B.
Hopkins, Percy E.
Horne, J. V.
Horsfall, H. H.
Hotrum, Fredk.
Houston, H. C.
Houston, H. T.
Howard, Clifford H.
Howe, C. D.
Howe, H. J.
Howse, Thos. H.
Huckvale, Robert
Hudson, J. P.
Huffman, Geo. E.
Hugill, Albert E.
Hugill, W. M.
Hulbig, F. M.
Humphrey, H. J.
Humphrey, Dr. John N.
Humphreys, W. Eason
Humphries, G. W.
Hunt, A. T.
Hunt, John F.
Hunter, B. B.
Hunter, E. J.
Hunter, Lt.-Col. F. Fraser
Hunter, H. T.

Hunter, K. M.
Huston, J. A.
Hutchinson, J. D. H.
Hutchison, O. A.

Innes, Rev. T. Christie, M.A.
Innes, Captain W. C. C.
Irwin, John C. W.

Jackman, H. R.
Jackson, C.
Jacob, E. R.
Jaffray, W. G.
Jamieson, H. T.
Jamieson, John D.
Janes, Gordon
Jardine, William
Jarvis, Mr. H. St. J.
Jarvis, Norman S.
Jephcott, Dr. C. M.
Jephcott, Gerald
Jerry, Carman A.
Johnson, D. O.
Johnson, John
Johnston, Dr. Samuel
Jones, Frank
Jones, G. J. L.
Jones, Gordon
Jones, J. Earle
Jones, T. Roy
Jones, W. D.
Jupp, A. E.

Kasman, Philip
Kay, Edwin
Keith, Gordon C.
Kellam, Geo. M.
Kellow, Ralph S.
Kelly, M. J.
Kent, Herbert B.
Kerr, A. B.
Kerr, Halbert J.
Kerr, John E.
Kerr, Rev. J. McD.
Kerr, Roland
Keys, Norman A.
Kilgour, R. C.
King, E. W.
Kinghorn, A. A.
Kinnear, T. Clark
Kinsman, J. Victor
Kirkham, Dr. F. R., M.D.
Kirkpatrick, Col. A. E.
Kirkpatrick, A. M. M.
Kirkpatrick, W. R.
Kitchen, Dr. Irving D.
Kitchen, Walter
Knowlton, Art. J.

LaBine, Chas.
LaBine, Gilbert
Lamb, Col. H. J.
Lamb, John R.
Lambert, George
Lamont, W. H.
Lang, James
Langlois, M. G.
Lascelles, G. A.
Laughton, H. V., K.C.
Lavine, Arthur
Lawer, W. L.
Lawson, Frank G.
Leacock, Geo. D.
Ledger, W. R.
Leibel, Dr. Bernard
Leibel, Wm.
Leitch, G. C.
Lemon, W. E.
Lennie, E. D.
LeSueur, R. V.
Levey, L. E.
Lewis, E. S.
Lindsay, G. C.
Lindsay, W. W.
Linton, Hall
Lister, M. Parker
Lithgow, J. H.
Little, F. M.
Little, Wm.
Lloyd, T. E.
Logan, C. S.
Logan, S. H.
Logie, Ben
Longmore, D. E.
Lord, R. W.
Lount, H. M.
Love, Harry H.
Lovering, His Honor Judge Egerton
Lumbers, G. C.

Macaulay, Hon. Leopold
MacBeth, John C. M., K.C.
MacBrien, W. A. H.
MacDiarmid, H.
Macdonald, Charleton E.
Macdonald, C. S.
Macdonnell, H. W.
MacEachern, Gordon A.
MacFadyen, W. T. A.
MacKay, Hon. Mr. Justice J. Keiller
MacKelcan, Fred R.
Mackellar, S. R.
MacKenzie, D. R.
Mackey, Wallace A.
MacKinnon, J. Bruce
MacLachlan, Wills
MacLaren, Ian
MacLean, Commander A. D., R.C.N.V.R.
MacLean, Major Hugh C
MacLean, Lt.-Col. J. B.
MacMillan, Dr. R. J.
MacMillan, William
MacNicol, John R., M.P.
Macrae, E. M.
MacRae, John
Magi, M. I.
Malcolm, J. L.
Mallison, Fred
Mancantelli, Robert
Manning, H. B.
Marchment, W. R.
Markon, K.
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McBain, Alex.
McBride, James
McCaffrey, E. R.
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McCloskey, H. C.
McColl, D. A.
McCraw, D. F.
McCrea, Hon. Chas.
McCrea, T. Arthur
McCrimmon, D. A.
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McCulloch, Dr. R. J. P.
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McDougall, R. G. M.
McDowell, George
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McGaw, T. D.
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McPherson, R. S.
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